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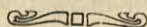
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HINDU CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

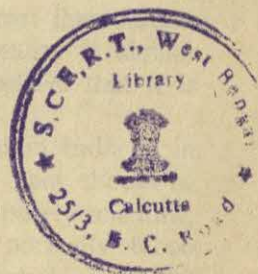


HINDU CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

A Psycho-Analytic Study



P. SPRATT



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PREFACE



THIS BOOK is an attempt to gain understanding of Hindu culture with the help of psycho-analytic ideas. Apart from Freud, the writers who have been found most suggestive are Jones and Roheim. A justification of these ideas would be out of place. All that is assumed is that they contain some truth, and that they can direct attention to truth which is not easily reached in any other way. They must, of course, be accepted in a scientific spirit, i.e. as hypotheses, to be judged by their fruitfulness.

My qualification for writing on this subject is that I have lived in India, in contact almost exclusively with Hindus, for more than thirty-five years. In justification of a psycho-analytic interpretation of some characteristics of the Hindu mind, Dr. Dharendra Narain says that after all he is a Hindu. A non-Hindu cannot claim any such direct understanding, but he may see more clearly than a Hindu what needs to be understood, and I can claim that advantage.

I have been thinking and even writing on this subject for a long time, but I should probably not have troubled to set out my ideas systematically if I had not read Dr. Dharendra Narain's book, *Hindu Character*, and Dr. G. M. Carstairs's book, *The Twice-Born*, both published in 1957. These are the first books to attempt the task I have undertaken, but though I owe them much, they both appeared to me to leave much unsaid, and to commit a fundamental error: they assume that the basic structure of the Hindu personality is similar to that of the normal occidental, whereas I believe that it is narcissistic.

The psycho-analytic ideas are not as familiar in India as in the West, and some readers may be offended. They should be assured that the intention of psycho-analysis is purely scientific, and that the reference to topics which are normally taboo has no other purpose. It may also be necessary to warn the reader against what is called the reductive fallacy: the root is necessary to the flower and largely determines its character,

but it is not the same thing as the flower and has not the same value.

When they discuss this subject some Hindus seem, like the Samkhya philosophy, to assume two (or more) independent principles. They say that the psycho-analytic assumptions may account for man's animal nature, but to deal with his higher nature other assumptions are needed. I do not deny (or affirm) this, but even if it is so, it may still be worth while to know how much the psycho-analytic assumptions can account for. I should claim that they provide an outline which, to people who take the scientific attitude, is more comprehensible than the conventional account, and should be interesting even to those who are convinced that the naturalistic assumptions of psycho-analysis are ultimately inadequate.

I wish to emphasise that this analysis implies no criticism or comparative assessment of Hinduism or of any of its institutions or beliefs. If psycho-analysis suggests that a certain unconscious configuration predisposes the subject to accept a certain type of philosophy, this has no tendency to imply that such philosophy is false; nor of course that it is true. The analysis has no bearing on that question. In no case does the analysis imply that beliefs are true or false, or that institutions or practices are beneficial or harmful. Except a few words embodying conventional value-judgements with which nobody will disagree, I have avoided ethical terms. Even where I have used such terms, the argument is not about values. Psycho-analysis gives no help in making value-judgements, and accordingly I have nowhere attempted to establish a value-proposition.

However, one's value-judgements may influence other judgements. It is fair that I should state my own feelings. Like most occidentals, I began with a dislike of Hinduism, but closer acquaintance has somewhat changed my opinion. Though I do not share the Theosophists' enthusiasm, I think I understand it. It is due principally to the phenomenon which is here called projective extroversion. This mental transformation does not seem to have been discussed previously in a scientific way, nor has its importance in Indian history been pointed out. I suggest that its discovery and

cultivation is the best achievement of the culture of India, the chief cause of the influence of Hinduism, and perhaps of Buddhism, and a contribution of very great value to civilisation.

It is perhaps worth remarking that the attribution of unconscious origins to conscious beliefs, practices and social forms does not imply that these beliefs, etc., cannot be changed. The unconscious roots of caste, for example, brought that institution into being in a situation in which there was probably little conscious opposition to it. The unconscious motives were therefore able to build up conscious rationalisations, such as the Rigvedic myth of its origin, and its justification in terms of the theory of rebirth, and also to find political and economic functions for it. In a society where there is strong opposition to it at the conscious level, where the rationalisations are no longer credible, and it has ceased to perform its ancient functions, the unconscious forces which supported caste cannot prevent changes in it or its eventual disappearance, even if at their own level those forces remain as strong as ever.

An apology is due for the references. Some are second-hand, and some are from sources which are no longer accessible to me, so that it is impossible to check them. Some of the passages quoted are condensed, though I believe without change of meaning. I should have liked to draw my material from wider reading, but many of the standard sources in English are now difficult to obtain. I should warn students that I have read only odd volumes or parts of Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* (Vol. IV only), Ananta-krishna Iyer's *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Nanjundayya's *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Siraj al Hassan's *Castes and Tribes of the Nizam's Dominions*, Abbott's *The Keys of Power*, Crooke's *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, and Messrs. Taraporevala's oddly-titled collection of folk-tales, *Best Short Stories of India*. I regret most of all that I have read only five of the 18 (or 19) major Puranas, and none of the equally numerous minor ones. However, the material which I have is fairly consistent, and I feel some confidence that though more data would no doubt have provided interesting detail,

it would not have led to much change in the main conclusions.

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to the Select Book Shop and the Jain Mission Society, Bangalore, and to Mr. M. S. Natarajan, for the loan of many books, and to Professor A. B. Shah for other valuable help.

P. SPRATT

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HINDU CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

INTRODUCTION

HINDU PARENTS treat their male children with extreme indulgence, and the evidence is that this has been the practice since ancient times. It need not be assumed that character is entirely determined by the treatment of the infant, but about a large population brought up in this way generation after generation it is a reasonable assumption that the average male will grow up with (1) a fixation at the stage of primary narcissism, the characteristic of the first few months of life; (2) a fixation at the stage of exclusive love for the mother, which follows in the next few months; and (3) a relatively weak repression of the anal erotism of about the same period. On these three linked assumptions it is possible to erect a theory of the Hindu personality type which is fairly true to experience of the type as it exists now, and embraces most of the outstanding peculiarities of Hindu culture and civilisation.

1. Mr. K. V. Rajan has upheld the view that Hindus in general are narcissistic, but has not pursued the matter. It is argued here that the ancient accounts of the sattva guna give a faithful portrait of the narcissistic personality type, though there are also weaker brethren of the same basic structure. The classical philosophical and ethical doctrines of Hinduism are direct expressions of the narcissistic standpoint, and so are the cult of self-sacrifice, male suicide and female sati, satyagraha, dharna, and neutralism. So also are the body cult, and the much-discussed erotic religious art.

An important expression of narcissism is a strong libidinal cathexis on the semen. One outcome of this is yoga: it is shown that, in the yogi, the narcissistic drive takes the special form of an unconscious attempt to shape the personality on the model of the permanent phallus. This model is important also in Jainism. The unconscious attachment to semen has other effects, in the relations between father and son, in the

treatment of women, in forming the pollution complex, and in caste. The theory of caste proposed here turns mainly on the semen complex.

A very different outcome of the narcissistic trend is the phenomenon called *prajna*, *pratibha*, *jivanmukti*, or *karmayoga*. If narcissism is carried to the limit, as in yoga, the result may be *samadhi*: the outer world vanishes. But, alternatively, the subject may experience an identification with the universe: the theme of the Upanishadic philosophy, set forth in the dictum "that art thou." One step further, and the subject loves the universe, for he loves himself. He has become a saint. This situation is here called projective extroversion. Even if not men of exceptional ability in other ways, such saints are outstanding personalities, and it is natural that men of this type should have had a dominating influence on society. This accounts for the exceptionally religious character and high moral principles of Hindu culture.

The attitude of the son to the father is of great importance not only for family life but for culture and politics. The narcissistic son is relatively free from the aggressive, rebellious impulse which is so common in the occident: he assumes the passive homosexual attitude. In a more emotional form this is the attitude of *bhakti*, and of the pupil to the teacher; this predisposition explains the importance of the guru cult.

2. Most space is devoted to narcissism, but the mother fixation is also important. It plays its part in yoga and in caste, and has had a great influence on religious forms and literary and artistic imagery. Special attention is given to the village goddess cult, the ritual and legends of which are shown to embody the principal unconscious fantasy of the mother-fixated son, self-castration, and the return to the womb. It is suggested that the atypical aggressiveness of a minority of Hindus is due to identification with the aggressive mother, who appears in mythology as *Kali* or *Bhavani*.

3. The third assumption, the relatively weak repression of the infant's anal erotism, is of less importance, but it accounts for some interesting peculiarities of Hindu, and more especially of Jain, culture.

The study concludes by giving examples of its main generaliz-

ations from the doctrines and legends of the principal sects, and from a very brief glance at political history.

The appendixes supply confirmation for the main thesis by discussing the personality of Mahatma Gandhi, and by giving some particulars of famous occidentals who appear to have been of the narcissistic type and pointing out parallels between their ideas and those of Hinduism.

Thus, the book claims to provide a comprehensive outline of the Hindu mind and culture, derived consistently from a simple psychological hypothesis. If this is valid it makes possible an understanding, such as has not been attained before, of the highly distinctive and influential culture of India.

Chapter 1

THE NARCISSISTIC PERSONALITY

THE TERM NARCISSISM is in current use and is considered uncomplimentary. Freud took it from the Greek story of the youth who died of excessive self-admiration, but he gave it a technical sense. According to the theory, in every psyche a certain quantum of libido is directed (cathected) upon the ego. This condition is established in the first months of life, and some trace of it remains: this is called primary narcissism. But in some cases an abnormally big charge of libido is cathected on the ego. This is secondary narcissism. The view here maintained is that the normal Hindu psyche shows secondary narcissism.

Such a configuration is wholly unconscious, though the unconscious usually has some conscious counterpart. The narcissistic unconscious configuration appears in overt behaviour most directly as self-conceit, selfishness, self-indulgence, and the like, but it has many other ways of expressing itself, some quite different and even opposed to these.

The concentration of aggressiveness upon the ego is also unconscious, though it may find fairly direct conscious expression in self-reproach or remorse. The concentration of a big charge of aggressiveness upon the ego is a feature of the theory set forth by Freud, based upon data obtained wholly from occidental sources. Since some of the outward manifestations of this structure appear in Hindu myths and the behaviour of Hindus, previous writers have assumed that the Hindu psychic structure is basically the same. The thesis of this book is that the Hindu psyche differs radically from the occidental. Freud assumes two kinds of psychic energy: libido and aggressiveness. Broadly, as between Hindu and European, these two psychic forces are interchanged. In

Europe the punitive¹ personality type is normal, the narcissistic exceptional; in India the narcissistic type is normal, the punitive exceptional.

According to psycho-analytic theory, the child in its early years assimilates current ideals and the example of adults, and these form the ego-ideal. Actual behaviour falls short of the ideal, but the ego is spurred on by the super-ego, which is an unconscious image of the aggressive side of authority, especially the father; the super-ego draws its strength from the subject's own aggressiveness. The conscience is thus a charge of aggressiveness directed against the ego and forcing it to try to live up to its ideals. The emotion which it engenders is that of guilt.

The Hindu conscience differs markedly from this punitive type. The ego-ideal is formed in the same way, but the big charge of inward-directed libido, love for the self, gives it a more idealistic character. The Hindu ego-ideal is undoubtedly more idealistic than the European. On the other hand, since libido and aggressiveness are mutually antagonistic, if the charge of libido is strong, that of aggressiveness is likely to be weak. In the narcissistic psyche, therefore, inward-directed aggressiveness is weak: the super-ego is weak. The Hindu strives to act rightly or to improve himself, not so much out of guilt-feeling as out of love for himself and, derivatively, for the ideal. Stated briefly, (if the occidental conscience is a product of fear, the Hindu conscience is a product of pride.) The Hindu's principal moral emotion is aspiration. But if in any individual this aspiration is weak, and the gap between ideal and achievement is wide, the weak super-ego does not cause the subject much distress.

The resulting wide gap between ideal and reality—it is wide everywhere, but wider than normal in India—is well recognised. A leading publicist has given one aspect of it the name “façadism.” Another has named the phenomenon “altitudinarianism.” Professor M. N. Srinivas has drawn attention to a topical instance. Everyone denounces caste, and most of those who do so are in a sense sincere; yet they

¹ I have ventured to coin this word to designate the psychic type in which much aggressiveness is directed against the ego.

know that caste is still very much alive, and few people care to defy it in practice.²

Other evidence testifies to the relative weakness of inward-directed aggressiveness in the Hindu psyche. In general the repression controlling emotional expression appears to be relatively weak. This is the view of Professor P. S. Naidu, a reputed psychologist, who knows Europe well. "The difference between us and those of the West in the matter of expressing emotions is this: in the West the so-called civilised behaviour is all pretence and camouflage. When you are really afraid you should pretend to be very courageous; when you are really angry, you must pretend to be pleased and grin and shake hands with your enemy. You should bottle up your natural feelings and emotions. We, in the East, on the other hand, have taken the emotions for what they are worth. We do not pretend, but give free expression to sorrow, pain, and joy. When we are afraid we are really afraid. Hence there is no need to invent laughter as a safety-valve. Not that we do not laugh. We do laugh. But our laughter is not an escape from some other emotion. It is an end in itself. Laughter with the Westerners is disciplinary; with us it is natural."³ I believe that his observation is sound, though I venture to think that the discussion of laughter of which it is a part is not wholly valid.

Professor Naidu adopts MacDougall's view that on witnessing a minor mishap endured by somebody else we laugh in order to protect ourselves against sympathetic suffering. This may well be true. But he does not notice that European bystanders laugh at others' mishaps far less freely than Indian bystanders. Personal observation, often repeated, assures me of this. I explain it by supposing that the European recognises an element of aggressiveness in the laughter stimulated by such an incident, and so tends to repress it, whereas a Hindu's laugh on such an occasion is free from aggressiveness. I think this is so, and it is in accordance with the view here maintained that, in the Hindu psyche, the aggressive com-

² Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India*, p. 71.

³ Naidu, *Mysteries of the Mind*, p. 40.

✓ponent, both inward and outward directed, is weaker than in the occidental psyche.

The Hindu psyche is not free from guilt. But its guilt feeling is less intense than that of the punitive, and there also appears to be a difference of quality. The guilt of the punitive arises from the fear, experienced in early infancy, of an avenging father. The guilt of the Hindu arises from fear of the operation of an impersonal law, Karma, implanted not in early infancy but in later childhood through verbal teaching, and in consequence less deeply felt.

Freud tends to identify inferiority with guilt. From the weakness of guilt feeling it should follow that inferiority feeling is also weak, and this is a fact of observation. Inferiority feeling expresses itself directly, or in an opposite, compensatory form. Neither is very noticeable among Hindus. In relation to the British, for example, they apologise for many failings and pay tribute to their former rulers' virtues. But though this is often quite sincere, the feeling is not deep, and it only partly conceals a prevailing self-satisfaction. Compensatory forms, such as boasting, though not unknown, are inconspicuous in view of the long period of British supremacy and the prolonged nationalist campaign. In relation to the Muslims, however, Hindus do show inferiority feeling (*see* section on the Body Cult, below).

Freud pictures the libido as emerging from the life process in a steady stream, so that in any individual in good health it is a constant quantity. On the other hand, aggressiveness is in part a response to stimuli, external or internal, and is therefore a variable quantity. In the punitive, the aggression of the super-ego against the ego provokes it to outward aggression, which may or may not be given a socially acceptable form. A large part of the libido is also cathected upon external objects. From both these causes, the punitive tends to indulge in much outward activity. The narcissist is more poised, placid, or lazy, according to the character of the ego-ideal and more particularly the strength of the aspiration towards it.

In this inward-turned aggressiveness which provokes further aggression and thus perpetuates itself, the punitive

psyche contains an intelligible source of energy for long-term action and self-cultivation. At first sight the narcissistic psyche would appear deficient in energy, and this model thus seems unable to account for the pronounced trend towards ascetic self-discipline in the Hindu tradition.

The narcissistic psyche is, however, relatively free from the conflict between the ego and the ego-ideal or father image, which is so prominent a feature of the psychic model outlined by Freud. In Hindu society, therefore, tradition and the outlook of the old have a stronger hold upon the individual, and there is scarcely any Satan's party to ridicule official moral teaching. The sex impulse is a threat to the ideal, but the narcissistic psyche contains an organisation which restrains sexual expression, though it does so less strictly than the Oedipus complex and the castration complex in the punitive. One of Freud's metapsychological speculations concerns a primeval fear of the division of the organism, expressing itself as a fear of the emission of semen. It is natural to suppose that in the narcissist the strong cathexis on the organism increases this fear: the *Aitareya Upanishad* (II.1) says that the semen is drawn from all parts of the body; i.e. it is identified with the ego. The desire to conserve the semen is an obtrusive feature of the Hindu mentality today, as it has always been. The feeling is most naturally described as a fear, and it is thus made to appear closely similar to the castration complex. But it is not a fear of attack by another person, involving aggressive feelings against him, and the other profound reactions which result from fear. It is mainly a love for the semen and a desire to retain it.

Thus the source of the energy of self-discipline is the love of the ego, and thence of the ego-ideal. This is the aspiration which animates the yogi—a concentration of all the psychic energy upon the development of the ego; and the yogi is the model towards which the Hindu psyche is attracted.

Although the aggressive component of the Hindu conscience is weak, and although the typical Hindu is strongly attached to family and caste, it does not follow that educated Hindus are ill-developed personalities or lack individuality.

The conscience and the personality which forms round it are well developed in other ways, as would be expected from the analytical account of the narcissistic psyche, a psyche devoted primarily to self-development. But the personality is submissive to the father, and thus tends to be dependent on authority; and self-development adapts itself to a narrow range of psychic models. Except for a period in the first millennium A.D., the Hindu culture can be described as relatively specialised.

The gunas

The doctrine of the three gunas gives an account of the narcissistic personality type, and somewhat doubtfully of the punitive. The doctrine is associated with the Samkhya philosophy, but the terms passed into general use at an early period. The Samkhya philosophy divides existents into two classes: purusha and prakriti. Purushas, souls, are eternal but inactive: they are mere spectators. The purusha may be regarded as a simplified or ideal model of the narcissistic personality, in which all the libido has been withdrawn from external objects. In fact the aim of Yoga, which accepts the Samkhya philosophy, is to achieve this condition and "realise" the purusha.

The other category, prakriti, comprises everything else, material and mental. Prakriti is composed of three gunas, substances, called sattva, rajas, and tamas, and the nature of an object depends on the proportions in which these are present in it. The theory of the gunas is set forth in many expositions, which agree most closely as to sattva, but differ somewhat as to the other two. The *Gita* (XIV, 5-18; XVII, 4-22) describes them as follows:

Sattva is pure, light, flawless, it identifies the self with happiness and wisdom, it is perspicuity and discernment, it leads to heaven. Men of the sattvik type like food which is sweet, bland, and nourishing, which gives long life, intelligence, strength, health, and happiness. Sattviks perform sacrifices according to the scriptures, without desire for the fruit, but because it is their duty; they worship the Gods, Brahmins, elders, and the wise, and are pure, honest, con-

continent, non-violent, inoffensive, truthful, cheerful, serene, self-controlled, of agreeable and wholesome speech, they study and repeat the scriptures, make gifts because it is their duty, to one who does nothing in return, with due regard to time, place, and recipient.

Rajas is passion, greed, attachment, activity, is guided by selfish motives and a desire for enjoyment, it leads to rebirth as a man attached to action, its fruit is sorrow. Men of the rajasik type worship Yakshas and Rakshasas, evil beings, they perform ascetic practices of kinds not enjoined in the scriptures; they are egoistic, hypocritical, greedy, conceited, and desirous of power; they like foods which cause pain, sorrow and sickness, and are bitter, salt, acid, spicy, dry, and burning. They offer sacrifices and do penance with a desire for gain or ostentation or worldly purposes, they make gifts in a grudging spirit, in the expectation of return.

Tamas is ignorant, deludes all beings, and binds the soul through error, sloth, and sleep; it is obtuse, inactive, careless; it leads to rebirth as a stupid creature or as an animal, bird, or insect, or in hell; its fruit is ignorance; it leads to error and dullness. Men of the tamasik type torture the body, prefer food which is half-cooked, insipid, decayed, stale, polluted, and impure; they offer sacrifices of kinds not enjoined in the scriptures, in which there is no faith, no distribution of food, no recitation of sacred texts, no payment of fees; they do penance with the aim of injuring others; they make gifts at wrong places and times, in a disrespectful manner, and to undeserving people.

This account of the sattvik type conforms to the model of the higher type of narcissist. The sattvik is devoted to the Gods, Brahmans, elders, the wise, and the scriptures—the conflict with the father is not acute. He is free from aggressive and other passions; he is impelled by duty, the ego-ideal. The outward-directed libido, i.e. attachments to worldly things, is weak because the libido is mainly cathected upon the ego.

The account of the rajasik type stresses activity and passion, and this suggests the punitive. But it also stresses selfishness and ostentation, which suggests the lower type of narcissist.

The account of the tamasik suggests less any character type than uneducated or primitive men. The remarks about their practice of self-torture, their impure food, their unorthodox sacrifices, and their black magic, all point to this.

A somewhat different idea of the gunas is derived from the exposition of the doctrine contained in P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's survey of philosophy. Sattva at the practical level, he says, is deliberative action; at the level of desire it is regulated desire; at the level of cognition it is perfect knowledge; its tone is pleasure. "The common factor of equilibrium, balance, self-control, right apprehension, and pleasure is conceived as Sattva, real being." Correspondingly, rajas is excited action; at the level of desire it is the struggle of motives; at the level of cognition it is clouded intellect; and its tone is pain. Tamas is automatic action, all-compelling desire, and ignorance; and its tone is indifference.⁴

The cathexis of libido upon the ego as opposed to external objects leads to a weakening of outgoing impulse, well expressed in the phrases, deliberative action, regulated desire, self-control, equilibrium. The libido imputes to the ego a good character, and this fact explains the attributes of perfect knowledge, pleasure, and real being. This account thus leads to the same conclusion, that the picture of the sattva guna is derived from observation of the higher type of narcissistic character.

Rajas as excited action, the struggle of motives, and pain, corresponds with the punitive type. The punitive intellect may be clouded, though one would hesitate to say that it is necessarily so. Indeed, the occidental is inclined to suppose that the optimum condition for the fruitful exercise of the intellect is the concentration of libido, and perhaps also aggressiveness, upon the external object, and that detachment is a hindrance. Probably the Hindu reply would be that this ascribes to intellect an absolute value; the occidental's devotion to intellectual conquest has been vigorous but indiscriminating, and has led to ill-effects; the proper management of the intellect must derive from a balanced view, not neglect-

⁴ Srinivasa Iyengar, *Outlines*, pp. 41-42.

ing values, which the Hindu psychic type is better equipped to achieve.

Srinivasa Iyengar's account of *tamas* is less a portrait of the lower caste man or tribesman than an abstract picture of a psyche completely dominated by the id. Action is automatic, desire is all-compelling; it is "ignorant," i.e. it does not discriminate the truly valuable from the immediately attractive. Doubt arises only over the fourth characteristic: its tone is said to be indifference, whereas the uninhibited indulgence of impulse is probably pleasurable, and the inevitable frustration of impulse is certainly painful.

Srinivasa Iyengar's exposition therefore fits reasonably well a psychological interpretation of the *guna* doctrine. The *sattvik* is the narcissistic type at its best; the *rajasik* is the punitive type at less than its highest level; while the *tamasik* is the type in which neither libidinal nor aggressive drives are much inhibited but impulse passes straight into action. The *tamoguna* may be equated with the Freudian id, a theoretical lower limit of pure instinctual behaviour, while *sattva* and *rajas* represent two parallel series of psychic types, each ranging from the lowest to the highest. The higher types of *rajasiks* are strongly self-controlled, tense, active, and moral, but liable to indulge in unconscious aggression; the less ideal *rajasiks* are less moral, but also active and aggressive. The best *sattviks* are inspired mainly by a love of the good and show high moral development; the less admirable *sattviks* have high principles but an easy conscience, and are therefore inactive, and tend to be self-satisfied, self-indulgent, and self-centred; in short, narcissistic in the familiar sense.

The exposition of the *guna* doctrine in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahabharata* tends to support this view. It says that the *sattvik* may be influenced by worldliness, and describes *rajasiks* as "agreeable in speech, thoughtful, free from envy, industrious in action from an eager desire to reap its fruits, and of warm temperament." However, this passage describes the *tamasik* as "given to day-dreaming, idle, full of anger, and haughtiness."⁵ This is unlike the "indifferent tone" of

⁵ *MBh.*, Vana P., CCXI, 5-8.

Srinivasa Iyengar, and suggests that the *tamasik* is a low-grade punitive.

It must be confessed, then, that this attempt at a psychological account of *rajas* and *tamas* is not very convincing. But the ancient accounts of *sattva* tally well with the psycho-analytic portrait of the best type of narcissist.

Despite the popular associations of the term narcissism, therefore, it does not follow from the analytic account that people of the narcissistic type are abnormally vain or selfish. Narcissists can be divided broadly into two types (apart from projective extroverts: *see* below). The better type of narcissist will be aware of the danger of vanity, and his deliberate effort of self-culture will control it. He will cherish an altruistic moral ideal, and his very narcissism will accentuate it: in analytic terms, libido cathects on the ego-ideal. Yudhishtira is the classical model, held up to admiration recently by Professor Zaehner⁶; he is not a saint, a *jivanmukta*, a projective extrovert: he is a *sattvik*, a righteous man of the world. The other type is that in which libido cathects less on the ego-ideal than on the ego. People of this type will be egoists and egotists, more or less adapted to conventional standards, but apt to give way to temptation, especially to vanity. A popular satire published a few years ago names India "Pompapur." Everyday experience confirms the idea that people may be divided into two fairly distinct groups. In a punitive culture, by contrast, the difference between the high-principled minority and the ordinary run of men seems to be less pronounced, and this is what the analytic account would lead one to expect. Fear, the fundamental urge behind the punitive conscience, has more effect upon the average man than pride, the fundamental urge of the narcissistic conscience.

The body cult

A minor, but to the foreigner striking, outcome of the narcissistic development and the consequent weakness of repression is the high place given to the body in Hindu

⁶ Zaehner, *Hinduism*, ch. 5.

culture. In the West the affairs of the body are subject to a slight repression. Thus health is seldom discussed above the level of formal politeness. To the occidental, the Hindus appear a nation of hypochondriacs. He does not consider health a matter to be discussed with his spiritual adviser, whereas many Hindu spiritual teachers give detailed instructions on medical subjects. They seem to draw no line of division between physical and spiritual health. This attitude must have struck many foreign readers of Mahatma Gandhi's journals.

The cult of the male body goes back to early times. Megasthenes refers to the Indians' regard for personal beauty and their care to augment it. The *Agni Purana*, a religious work, contains a large section on medicine, and also beauty hints. "Libations should be poured on the fire in a fire-pit shaped like the yoni...the rite should be performed with oblations of wheat and rice when a general betterment of health and complexion is desired...oblations of bael and champaka will be followed by increased wealth and beauty."⁷ In the ancient literature, serious and light, there is a striking emphasis on the good looks of the heroes. In the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, all the heroes are of dazzling beauty. In one story the citizens of Ujjayini resolved to commit suicide because the king was about to execute a handsome captive.⁸ The *Yogatattvopaniṣad* declares that as a man proceeds with yogic practice he becomes as beautiful as the God of Love.⁹ Much attention was given to bathing and the application of unguents; indeed, this is still the case. "Having eased himself, the king should enter the bathroom. He should bathe every day, having cleaned his teeth. . . He should smear his body with scented sandal-paste, decorate himself with valuable ornaments, contemplate himself in a mirror, and see his face reflected in ghee in a golden vessel."¹⁰

Of the prescribed daily ritual acts, a large proportion were concerned with the body—bathing, clothes, food, marking the forehead and other parts of the body—as were many of the rituals which marked the stages of life. Cutting the hair,

⁷ *Agni P.*, CCCIX, 8-15.

⁹ *Thirty Minor Upanishads*, p. 196.

⁸ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 12.

¹⁰ *Agni P.*, CCXXXV, 3-7.

shaving, paring the fingernails and toenails, and rubbing the body with turmeric or sandal-paste are part of the marriage ritual of many castes. A book would be necessary to set forth the rules governing hair-cutting and shaving. Though yoga was intended to liberate the soul from the body, the elaboration of doctrine on postures and breathing suggests a strong preoccupation with the body. This was intensified by the Tantrics. Discussing their cult Mircea Eliade says, "Since the body represents the cosmos and all the gods, since liberation can be gained only by setting out from the body, it is important to have a body that is healthy and strong."¹¹

In the religious rituals called *nyasa*, the worshipper imagined the deity to be located in various parts of the body, which he touched with the hand while pronouncing certain syllables. In the rite called *lipinyasa* (*lipi*=letter), "the letters constituting the five groups of consonants...should be contemplated as permeating in couples the region of the scalp, of the eyes, of the ears, of the nose, of the cheeks, of the lips, of the teeth, of the head, of the mouth, of the back, of the sides, of the region of the umbilicus, and so on, with the energy of their symbolised divinities. The region of the heart should be made permeated with the essence of the letters y, r, l, v, which should be driven deep into the seven cardinal principles of life, the serum, the blood, the flesh, the fat, the bone, the marrow, and the semen...The names of the different manifestations of Rudra...should be contemplated as written in fire inside the different parts of the body."¹² In most if not all cases the directions for the worship of other Gods given in this Purana include similar observances.

The Jain sub-culture, which shows many of the peculiarities of the Hindu mentality in accentuated form, shares this preoccupation with the body. Bharata, the elder son of the first of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, spiritual teachers, was the first of the twelve Chakravartins, world emperors, of the Jain mythology. The poet Hemachandra describes Bharata's spiritual progress at length, and relates that the last obstacle which he had to overcome before attaining salvation was his attach-

¹¹ Eliade, *Yoga*, p. 204.

¹² *Agni P.*, CCXCIII, 38-47.

ment to the beauty of his own body. One day when he had bathed, "when his body had been rubbed with a very fine cloth and his hair garlanded, his body anointed with goshirsha-sandal, wearing priceless divine jewelled ornaments on his body," he went to the apartment made of mirrors of jewels and saw himself life-size. A ring had fallen from one finger, and he noticed its absence. "What's this? Why is this finger lacking in beauty?... Are other parts of the body devoid of beauty, if they have no ornaments?" He removed his diadem, necklace, earrings, etc., and found that without them the corresponding parts of the body lacked beauty. He reflected, "Alas! beauty of the body must be gained by ornaments... This body, polluted inside and out by impurities, should not be considered to have any beauty." As he realised this, he attained salvation.¹³

Physical defect was a disqualification for kingship. In the *Mahabharata*, Dhritarashtra was not allowed to ascend the throne because he was blind. Jain priests refused to eat with Raja Bittideva of Mysore because he had lost a finger.¹⁴ It is a general belief that the ghost of a mutilated man is malignant.¹⁵ Hindus show a marked dislike of visible symptoms of disease, as I have noticed. The Omanaito of Orissa cannot tolerate a man suffering from sores, and excommunicate him.¹⁶ "The worst social sin a Mahar can commit is to get vermin in a wound... he is quite ostracised, and when it is cured the Mahars of ten or twelve surrounding villages assemble... the feeling about it is general among Hindus."¹⁷

✓ The saint Bahirambhat had himself converted to Islam, and later after ceremonies and penances was readmitted to his caste. But he still had doubts. "The Muhammadans having defiled me, my Brahmanhood no longer remains... If anyone said that Bahirambhat was a great Brahman he scolded him saying, 'If so, why is the sign of circumcision still there?' He showed it to them and all wondered." Eventually he went to a saint named Nagnath, who pounded him in a mortar, cremated him, and then looked upon the ashes with an eye of compas-

¹³ Hemachandra, *Trishashti*, vol. I, pp. 376-78.

¹⁴ Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, p. 186.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁶ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, V. 444.

¹⁷ Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, IV. 141-42.

sion and brought them to life. "It was a divine body with all good qualities, such as yogis enjoy . . . If I call myself a Muhammadan, yet my foreskin is already there . . . Nagnath did that which was seemingly impossible and removed his great doubt."¹⁸ This legend illustrates the narcissistic feeling for the body, and suggests the source of the Hindu pollution complex (see chapter on Caste). It also gives light on the Hindu feeling towards Muslims. Muslims frequently converted Hindus by force, and this involved assaults on the pollution complex: circumcision, forcing beef into the mouth, and raping women. Rape was a method of conversion, since, traditionally, a woman who had had intercourse with a man of inferior caste could never regain her ritual purity. Unless she was prepared for suicide, therefore, she had no alternative but to remain a Muslim. The memory of these violations of bodily integrity is analogous to the infant's fantasy of castration by the father which is the cause of the punitive's guilt feeling. Thus in relation to Muslims, Hindus show attitudes similar to the punitive's inferiority, both direct and reversed or compensatory, i.e. aggressive.

In striking contrast to the care for the body and all that is identified with it, is the indifference to surrounding objects which are not identified with the body. One would almost say that in the unconscious Hindus do not regard the feet as part of the body;¹⁹ they neglect them, together with footwear; they must not allow the foot to touch a book. Males appear not to identify their clothes with the body, and are generally careless about them. When I came to India in the 1920's I was strongly impressed by the indifference to the appearance and comfort of their houses, furniture, etc., shown even by Hindus of ample means. These phenomena may probably be attributed to the weakness of libidinal cathexis on the outer world.

Sex in religion

Libido and aggressiveness, the psychic roots of love and hate, are inherently opposed. A psyche dominated by aggressive-

¹⁸ Abbott and Godbole, *Stories of Indian Saints*, II. 147-52

¹⁹ Cf. Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, p. 79.

ness will tend to repress the more obvious manifestations of libido — the arts, ceremonial, luxury, as well as direct sexual activity. In agreement with the predominance of the punitive type in the West, and despite some sayings of Christ of a different tendency, official Christianity has always taken a strongly puritanical attitude towards sex. (Some modern Christian writers deny this. Professor Zaehner does so,²⁰ arguing that in the Christian view the sex act is the experience which brings man nearest to God, and accordingly all misuse of it must be prevented as sacrilegious. The policy of the Churches through the ages can certainly not be explained as inspired by this doctrine; see Taylor's discussion.²¹ In general the attitudes shown in the Gospels must not be assumed to be those of the occidental culture. Dr. Radhakrishnan has pointed out that the Gospels are as other-worldly as the Hindu teaching.²² While Hinduism appears to be a genuine expression of the mind of the Hindu people, Christianity is foreign to Europe, and has not been assimilated in its original form.)

In the narcissistic psyche, aggressiveness is weak and libido is dominant. In the highest types of narcissist, libido expresses itself in self-development and love of mankind, and direct sexual activity tends to be inhibited; but the narcissist's chastity complex is weaker than the punitive's equivalent, and he usually shows little hostility to sex. Thus the two types show complementary attitudes. In the punitive's religion, manifestations of aggression are officially disapproved but cause little concern, whereas sex is horrifying; in the narcissist's religion, sex is officially disapproved but causes little concern, whereas aggression is horrifying. Hence the sexual side of Hinduism, which has so puzzled Muslims and Christians. Discussing the temple sculptures representing the sex act, Mr. Alex Comfort remarks that the Hindu tradition is "the chief artistic tradition which celebrates it (sexuality) visually, giving it the place occupied in our own iconography by the celebration of pain."²³

The purusharthas, aims of life, set forth in the scriptures, are righteousness, wealth, sex, and salvation. In the *Gita*,

²⁰ Zaehner, *Mysticism*, p. 152.

²¹ Taylor, *Sex in History*, ch. III.

²² Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions*, pp. 68-75.

²³ Comfort, *Darwin*, p. 101.

✓ Krishna twice declares that he is lawful sexual desire.²⁴ The religious rituals of the Tantric sect include the performance of the sex act with the wife or another woman, though the semen is not emitted. Doubtless this derives from an ancient fertility cult, but in India Tantricism has survived and still has philosophic and saintly adherents, whereas in Europe similar cults have left no more than traces.

That sect is small, but myths and art popular among other sects show that they feel no incompatibility between religion and direct sex expression. Almost all the Gods are married, and the Puranas relate sex adventures concerning them. The eminent saint Shankara took the vow of celibacy at the age of 8 and therefore knew nothing of sex, but he was once challenged to a debate on the subject, which was one of the recognised sciences; he acquired the necessary knowledge by causing his soul to enter the body of a recently deceased king and in that form living for some time in the harem. Ramakrishna was always warning against "women and gold"; nevertheless, he saw the Mother in the form of prostitutes,²⁵ and he once said, "I have seen with my own eyes that God dwells even in the sexual organ. I saw him once in the sexual intercourse of a dog and a bitch."²⁶

✓ Until thirty years ago, nearly all important temples in South India maintained dedicated prostitutes, and when the institution was abolished by law, a learned and austere supporter of tradition, Ananda Coomaraswamy, defended it and denounced the reform.²⁷ Among the lower castes Basavis are still dedicated in a similar way. At the marriage ceremony of some castes, the important function of threading the tali is performed by a Basavi or a secular prostitute.²⁸ The chapter in the *Matsya Purana* on the duties of prostitutes sanctifies them by declaring them to be the Gopis, the milkmaid girls of the Krishna story. Indra lays down that a prostitute who makes the proper gifts and follows other observances, and "with all her heart and soul and with a smile on her face" yields herself to a Brahman every Sunday, will go to heaven.²⁹

²⁴ *Gita*, VII, 11; X, 28. ²⁵ *Enseignement*, p. 421. ²⁶ *Gospel*, p. 199.

²⁷ *Q.J.M.S.* (Bangalore, July 1936), p. 4.

²⁸ Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, p. 75. ²⁹ *Matsya P.*, LXX, 24-68.

Art

A number of writers have remarked on the inward-turned character of Indian art, and even music. How far this is valid I am unable to judge. A wellknown statement by Tagore on music may, however, show what is meant: "The understanding portion of the audience do not mind any harshness of voice or uncouthness of gesture in the exponent of a perfectly formed melody; on the contrary, they seem sometimes to be of opinion that such minor external defects serve better to set off the internal perfection of the composition."³⁰

Some of Coomaraswamy's observations appear to bear out the view maintained here. The *Natyashastra* says that the dancer must concentrate her thoughts, and far from yielding to the temptation to please the spectators, must forget the external world. Valmiki is said to have followed this injunction when composing the *Ramayana*: he first held the whole story in his mind, as one holds a fruit in one's hand, and then began to recite the poem.³¹ "... the mere representation of nature is never the aim of Indian art... Possibly no Hindu artist of the old schools ever drew from nature at all. His store of memory pictures, his power of visualisation, and his imagination were for his purpose finer means; for he desired to suggest the Idea behind sensuous appearance, not to give the detail of the seeming reality, that was in truth but maya, illusion."³² "The Western artist judges art by intellectual and aesthetic standards. The Indian seeks truth in his inner consciousness, and judges of its expression by metaphysical and imaginative standards."³³ In the same way Heimann says, "It is the psychological impression, associating the artefact itself with some general ideas, that really counts."³⁴

An important part of the traditional aesthetic theory is the doctrine of the nine rasas: love, mirth, compassion, heroism, wrath, fear, repugnance, wonder, peace. Of these, love is considered the fundamental one, and love and peace, which involve the idea of unity, are permanent, whereas the others,

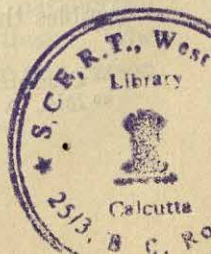
³⁰ Tagore, *Reminiscences*, p. 188.

³¹ Coomaraswamy, *Dance of Shiva*, p. 28.

³² Coomaraswamy, *Essays*, p. 22.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

³⁴ Heimann, *Indian and Western Philosophy*, p. 104.



implying differentiation, are impermanent.³⁵

These quotations suggest the artistic attitude which would be expected in the narcissistic personality. Its attention is directed inward, and it concerns itself not mainly with the art object but with the emotions engendered by the object. Of these emotions, too, the sattvik love and peace are given the highest place.

"Greek sculpture," says Coomaraswamy, "is limited by the conception of the gods as beautiful Olympians. . . . But in Greek drama we find the wonder and mysticism which the art, with all its beauty, lacks. Indian art has the wider content of Greek drama. Curiously enough, however, Indian drama is limited somewhat, as is Greek sculpture, by the idea of pleasure or beauty."³⁶

The ruling psychological factor in drama is conflict, aggressiveness, guilt. Hence the great achievement in drama of the punitive-type Greeks; while the weakness of aggressiveness in the narcissistic psyche is the source of the weakness which Coomaraswamy claims to find in Indian drama. The outward-turned, realistic Greek psyche, however, is less suited to the plastic arts. Here the inward-turned Hindu psyche, which treats external objects primarily as symbols of psychic realities, produces results which Coomaraswamy confidently pronounces to be far superior.

Professor H. W. Wells, contrasting the Sanskrit drama with the European, gives a somewhat different account, which nevertheless confirms our view. The Sanskrit drama, he says, "shows no consciously opposed philosophies of life. . . . Comedy in the European sense is almost as far removed from the Indian consciousness as tragedy." "Indians are by no means concerned with the individual's private problems of unity or harmony. . . . their desire is for a religiously conceived and universal goal of spiritual equilibrium. . . . The East attaches little importance to contradiction except in so far as opposites fall naturally into an equilibrium resembling the patterns of a balanced dance. . . . That man is basically both angel and beast troubles the West; on the contrary, our divided human nature

³⁵ Coomaraswamy, *Essays*, pp. 37-38.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

enables the East to experience aesthetic pleasure in discovering life arranged so symmetrically. The stage in the West records humanity in its striving, that of the East in its repose... The Eastern thinker marvels that the West can be so troubled by the storms on life's surface... The Western dramatist is a general deploying life's forces into a battle; the Eastern dramatist, a choreographer arranging them in a dance... European drama is work in progress; Indian drama, work in fulfilment."³⁷

Discussing the same contrast, Mr. Hamdi Bey has argued that the weak development of the Oedipus complex explains the poverty of the Indian novel.

Ernest Jones on narcissism

Among the Freudian psychiatrists, Jones gives the fullest account known to me of the narcissistic type. It is contained in an essay entitled "The God Complex," and gives an unflattering portrait. However, Jones admits that there can be admirable specimens of the type, and mentions Nietzsche and Shelley as examples. Moreover, the subjects from observation of whom he obtained his data lived in a society which provided no tradition or training suitable for them, but by its competitiveness probably encouraged the unpleasant side of their personalities.

The principal characteristics which Jones mentions need no further discussion, but some minor ones are not easily anticipated. The natural tendency of the narcissist is towards exhibitionism, but Jones also noticed an opposite tendency, which he interpreted as a reaction formation. His subjects kept out of active life and showed aloofness, inaccessibility, a love of privacy. Hindus are markedly lacking in gregariousness, and in later life, when they cultivate a more completely narcissistic attitude, this trait becomes more pronounced: traditionally, they retired to the forest. It seems possible that some of the incidents of caste, such as keeping people at a distance, and forbidding travel overseas, owe something to this tendency towards aloofness. Yogis are believed to acquire paranormal powers, but are always warned against exhibiting them. "The king of yogins should not exercise his powers before any person

³⁷ Wells, *Classical Drama of India*, pp. 8-10.

whatsoever. He should live in the world as a fool, an idiot or a deaf man, in order to keep his powers concealed."³⁸

Jones's subjects did not work well with others. They showed a low degree of civic consciousness, and though interested in public affairs would not trouble to vote or undertake any other activity for the public benefit. Hindus, in general, find it difficult to co-operate, and the other points mentioned are certainly applicable.

If concerned in public affairs, Jones's subjects showed a liking for the unostentatious exercise of influence: another reaction formation against exhibitionism. Hindus exercised a great deal of power from behind the scenes in the Muslim and British periods, though that is of course explicable on other grounds, but the idea seems to have a lingering fascination. One constantly hears it asked: who is behind it?

As a product of the unconscious conviction of omniscience, as Jones conjectures, his subjects showed an abnormal interest in psychology, thought-reading, divination, astrology, occultism, and so forth. Hindus manifest these interests probably more than the people of any other culture.

A different product of the unconscious conviction of omniscience is a reluctance to accept new knowledge, a feeling that one knew it all before. In India this claim is not made by the individual but is projected on the Hindu civilisation. Some say that Hindu science, being spiritual, is superior to other science; some say that the ancient Hindus exhausted the physical sciences and anticipated all modern technology. "All the knowledge that is extant in the world originated in India," said Swami Dayanand.³⁹

Jones's subjects were keenly interested in religion and inclined to mysticism but did not believe in God: he explains that God appeared to them a rival whom they could not tolerate. The most intellectually and spiritually developed Hindus have progressed beyond belief in God. All the classical Hindu philosophies are atheistic.

These subjects were also convinced of their own immortality and had fantasies of rebirth. This again is in striking agreement with Hindu beliefs.

³⁸ *Yogatattvopnishad*.

³⁹ *Satyarth Prakash*, ch. XI.

Some illustrations

Rama is the sattvik's ideal of the warrior: he is too blameless for a rajasik. The punitive normally cherishes unconscious hatred for his father, and in such a crisis as Rama's exile it would betray itself. Rama submitted immediately, and never at any point showed resentment towards Dasharatha, who exiled him, or towards Kaikeyi, his step-mother, who instigated it. Towards Bharata, who very unwillingly took his throne, he showed anger for a moment; this is probably in character, for Bharata was his younger brother, and Jones mentions fear of younger rivals as shown by his narcissistic subjects.

Upon her rescue from the clutches of Ravana, Rama refused to take Sita back. "I have won you back...I have done all that fortitude could do. I have wiped out the insult and the insulter. My prowess has been manifested. I guard my honour jealously. I have avenged the insult to my family. Which man of honour would take back a woman who has lived in the house of another?...I no longer have any attachment for you. Go to Lakshmana, or Bharata, or Sugriva, or Vibhishana..." She was made to prove her chastity by passing through the fire. The Gods also assured Rama of her purity. He then explained to his brothers: "Had I not put her innocence to the test, the people would have said, 'Rama is governed by lust.' I knew well that Sita had never given her heart to another."⁴⁰ Indian readers appear generally to have accepted this incident, though the poet shows Rama's brothers and allies as embarrassed. But later he heard that people were still doubtful about Sita's chastity, and he exiled her. Even here some still defend him, but many readers admit that they do not approve. We are not concerned with the ethics of the matter; our interest is in Rama's clear exposition of the narcissistic attitude.

Harishchandra had promised Viswamitra both his whole kingdom and a large number of cows. When the Rishi had obtained the kingdom, he demanded the cows. Harishchandra explained that he had given all the cows he possessed, and begged for mercy, but to no effect. Eventually he sold his wife and son, and himself, into slavery, and so paid the debt.

⁴⁰ *Ramayana*, VI, 117, 120.

After all three had suffered terrible hardship and indignity, and the son had died, the Gods restored them and congratulated him on his fidelity to his promise.⁴¹ This story is very popular, but apparently nobody ever suggests that the king is wrong in valuing his own freedom from technical guilt so highly, or in submitting to the Rishi so abjectly. Rebellion against his father is exceptionally difficult for a narcissist.

The heroes of all three of Kalidasa's plays show typically narcissistic behaviour in relation to their wives. Dushyanta promises marriage and then goes home and forgets Shakuntala. When she comes to court with the child, he denies all knowledge of the matter. Kalidasa has a story about magic to explain this, but in the original his denial is a lie. She goes away in anger, a voice from heaven declares that her story is true, and he then accepts her and the child, explaining that he had rejected her in order that there might be some proof of her story in order to convince the court of the boy's legitimacy.⁴² The reader is left in doubt whether this excuse is genuine, or he had really intended to repudiate her.

In *Vikramorvasiya* the king carries on his love affair with the young charmer without concealing it from the queen, who however is perfectly complaisant. In *Malavikagnimitra* the king already has two wives, who try to obstruct the new romance, without success. Finally, it is revealed that the girl is of royal birth, the king marries her, and the other queens acquiesce. Such behaviour is of course typical of kings in all cultures, but in other traditions the needs of romance are best satisfied if the affair shown on the stage is the hero's first.

⁴¹ *Markandeya P.*, VII, VIII

⁴² *MBh.* Adi P., LXXIV.

Chapter 2

PROJECTIVE EXTROVERSION

"VARADA, VISHNU MISRA, and Venkatanatha held that the soul's knowledge expands and contracts, and that at emancipation it pervades the whole world." This is a statement by Dasgupta.¹ Dorothea Stephen writes: "He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice...smaller than a millet seed or the kernel of a millet seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds. Chhand. 3.14.3." This passage is one of the gems of the Upanishads, where poetry illuminates a true experience."²

When narcissism is carried to the extreme point, the concentration of all the libido upon the ego endows it with all value and deprives all other objects of value. The subject feels a total lack of interest in external objects and normal life. This is *vairagya*, or in the Christian idiom, dying to the world. This state cannot be attained immediately by conscious effort, for a large part of libidinal attachment is unconscious. The voluntary attainment of total inward cathexis, if it is possible at all, will normally require prolonged effort and practice, as in yoga. For the typical yogi and other ascetics this is the final state, symbolised by a god eternally embracing his shakti, who is himself.

However, a step beyond it is possible. When a complete libidinal cathexis upon the ego is attained, other objects lose reality and the ego appears to be the only object that exists. The ego may then identify itself with the world; it may expand, as it were, to include everything within itself. As the Upanishads put it, that art thou.

¹ Dasgupta, *History*, III, 159.

² Stephen, *Studies*, p. 46.

The orthodox yogis had intimations of this step, though they claimed to despise it. Yogis make systematic efforts to concentrate all libido upon the ego, and the classics claim that when they achieve this they acquire magical powers and even omniscience and omnipotence. Evidently we have here the same sequence of events: when the ego becomes the focus of all emotion it expands to fill the world.

It seems possible that the punitive ego may undergo a similar inflation. In Christian doctrine, all humans are guilty of the suffering and death of Christ. In those who take this teaching to heart and punish themselves accordingly, so much aggressiveness may be concentrated upon the ego that it expands in a similar way. The individual's guilt becomes a fact of cosmic significance, so important that God himself could not forgive it unless he were permitted to do so by Christ's vicarious suffering.

With the identification of the ego and the world the process is not complete. The final step, which the yogi does not take, is to direct upon the world the love which is directed upon the ego. Since the ego and the world are now identified, this might be expected to happen automatically, but no doubt the process is more complex than these simple words suggest, and it does not always occur. When it does happen, the world is transformed in an impressive and delightful way. The subject loves his own ego, and identifies his ego with the world; he therefore loves the world and feels that the world loves him: his love is projected upon the world.

This outward redirection of libido may seem to reproduce the situation of the extrovert, but it differs from his in two respects. The narcissist's projected libido falls upon all things alike, since everything is included in his ego; whereas the extrovert loves some things, hates others, and is indifferent to the rest. Thus the narcissist who has attained to projective extroversion feels no preferences: he is impartial, balanced. Yoga is balance, says the *Gita* (II. 48). Secondly, the quality of this projected libidinal attachment is different from the direct attachment of the extrovert. The difference may be part of what is meant by *maya*. To the projective extrovert external objects are valued not directly but in the mirror of the ego; they lack some element of value, or of reality; the

attachment to them is relatively cool, passionless, that of the artist, perhaps, rather than the lover.

The passage from the *Chhandogya Upanishad* quoted by Stephen: "he is my self, smaller than a corn of rice, greater than all these worlds," probably represents the experience of projective extroversion, an intense introversion followed or accompanied by a great expansion of the ego. There are a number of passages in the Upanishads of similar character. "Verily, what is called Brahman, that is what the space outside of a person is... That is what the space within a person is."³ "Smaller than the small, greater than the great, the self is set in the heart of every creature... sitting, he moves far; lying, he goes everywhere."⁴ "It moves and it moves not; It is far and It is near; It is within all this, and It is outside all this."⁵ "Subtler than the subtle, greater than the great, is the self that is set in the heart of the creature."⁶ "I am subtler than the subtle, greater than the great."⁷ The *Gita* says: "The yogi who is identified with the all-pervading consciousness and looks on all equally, sees the self in all beings and all beings in the self."⁸

It seems probable that projective extroversion and the process whereby it is attained are the experiences represented in the doctrine of the five states. All readers of the Upanishads are familiar with the doctrine of the four states: waking consciousness, dreaming consciousness, dreamless sleep, and the fourth state (*turiya*), which is liberation. The fifth state appears to have been described only in later documents.

In the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* the number of states is given as three, and the nature of liberation is said to be revealed in dreamless sleep.⁹ This version also appears in the story of King Muchukunda. He helped to defeat the Asuras, so the Devas offered him a boon, and he desired to be granted a long sleep.¹⁰ The doctrine of the four states is set forth in the *Mandukya Upanishad*. "This same self has four quarters. The first quarter is Vaisvanara, whose sphere (of activity) is

³ *Chhandogya*, III. 12. 7-8.

⁴ *Katha*, II. 20-21.

⁵ *Isha*, V.

⁶ *Svetasvatara*, III. 20.

⁷ *Kaivalya*, XX.

⁸ *Gita*, VI. 29.

⁹ *Brihadaranyaka Up.*, IV, 3, 19-32.

¹⁰ *Vishnu P.*, V. XXIII.

the waking state, who cognises external objects...The second quarter is the *Taijasa*, whose sphere (of activity) is the dream state, who cognises internal objects...The third quarter is *Prajna*, whose sphere (of activity) is the state of deep sleep, who has become one, who is verily a mass of cognition, who is full of bliss and who enjoys (experiences) bliss, whose face is thought. This is the lord of all, this is the knower of all, this is the inner controller, this is the source of all, this is the beginning and the end of beings. (*Turiya* is) not that which cognises the internal (objects), not that which cognises the external (objects), not what cognises both of them, not a mass of cognition, not cognitive, not non-cognitive. (It is) unseen, incapable of being spoken of, ungraspable, without any distinctive marks, unthinkable, unnameable, the essence of the knowledge of the one self, that into which the world is resolved, the peaceful, the benign, the non-dual; such, they think, is the fourth quarter. He is the self; he is to be known."¹¹

Evidently, the fourth state is *nirvikalpa samadhi*, the traditional goal of the yogi's endeavours, the state of total introversion. The step beyond this is described in a late Upanishad: "Brahman is the one self made supreme through internal vision in the state of a *jivanmukta*...Becoming one with Brahman through internal vision, the soul becomes one with the partless sphere of the heavens...In the midst of the internal vision is absorbed the whole world...the contemplation of the self as present in all...the state of the ego being one with all...the witness-consciousness into which the absorption of the whole universe takes place...There are five states: waking, dreaming, dreamless sleep, the fourth state, and that beyond the fourth...Where his mind is immersed in the *akash* (heaven, space) and he becomes all-full, and when he attains the state above mind, he conquers all sorrows and impurities..."¹²

These hints, scattered through the text, are not as clear as could be wished; nevertheless they do refer to a state beyond the fourth, and say that in that state the self is aware of the universe and in some way identifies the universe with itself.

¹¹ *Mandukya Up.*, 2-7. I have used Radhakrishnan's translations of all the older Upanishads.

¹² *Mandalabrahmana Up.*, 30 *Minor Upanishads*, pp. 246, 248, 249, 252.

In this state of projective extroversion, the quantum of libido projected appears to vary greatly. At one extreme is the modern saint Ramana Maharshi. He achieved total inward cathexis of the libido unexpectedly and apparently without effort at the age of seventeen. He was suddenly possessed with the conviction that he was about to die, and soon after realised, "I am the deathless Spirit." From then on for more than fifty years he remained apparently inactive. He wrote little, and seemed to make no effort to spread a doctrine or help others, though many of those who visited him felt inspired by his presence. At the other extreme is the Buddha, who according to the accepted account lived nearly as long after attaining projective extroversion, and filled his years with an active campaign to spread his faith.

There can be no doubt that the story of the Buddha's enlightenment is based on an actual instance or instances of projective extroversion, but the story of his later activities may be fictitious. However, we have a modern instance of a projective extrovert who led a long life of vigorous activity, namely Tagore. He is especially interesting because he gives a most convincing account of the experience. In his *Reminiscences* he describes the transformation which he underwent at the age of about twenty:

"... it was the effect of the evening which had come within me; its shades had obliterated my *self* ... I repeatedly tried the effect of deliberately suppressing my *self* and viewing the world as a mere spectator, and was invariably rewarded... it came to be so that no person or thing in the world seemed to me trivial or unpleasing... From infancy I had seen only with my eyes; I now began to see with the whole of my consciousness."

He sets forth a theory of this transformation: "When from the original fount in the depths of the Universe streams of melody are sent forth abroad, their echo is reflected into our heart from the faces of our beloved and the other beauteous things around us. It must be... this Echo which we love, and not the things themselves... I had so long viewed the world with external vision only, and so had been unable to see its universal aspect of joy. When of a sudden, from some innermost depth of my being, a ray of light found its way out, it

spread over and illuminated for me the whole universe, which then no longer appeared like heaps of things and happenings, but was disclosed to my sight as one whole."

He then refers to the process of inward concentration through which this extroversion must be approached: "To begin by wanting the whole world is to get nothing. When desire is concentrated, with the whole strength of one's being, upon any one object whatever it might be, then does the gateway to the Infinite become visible."

Finally he tells of his play, *Nature's Revenge*, which "put in a slightly different form the story of my own experience, of the entrancing ray of light which had found its way into the depths of the cave into which I had retired away from all touch with the outer world, and made me more fully one with Nature again."¹³

These passages afford a striking and detailed confirmation of the account of projective extroversion proposed here. He began with withdrawal from the world and concentration upon one object; then the gateway opened, and a ray shone forth which was reflected back to him. "It must be this echo which we love"—he clearly saw that it was a case of projection. The result was a uniform love for the world—"no person or thing seemed to me trivial or unpleasing."

The late R. D. Ranade, who enjoyed mystical experiences frequently for many years, and was learned in ancient and modern philosophy, seems to have explained some of the phenomena of mysticism in a way similar to this, and to have used the word projection.¹⁴ His biographer mentions two experiences which appear to be explicable as instances of projection. Both are familiar to the classics. "He saw the whole firmament filled with brilliant eyes—two eyes were, we are told, specially staring at Sri Gurudev" (Ranade). "Sri Gurudev had also experienced the vision of the self."¹⁵

Mr. Conze's account of the "absolute idealism" of the Yogacharin school of Buddhists includes what is apparently a description of the same experience: "The intention is to effect a withdrawal from both the empirical object and the empirical

¹³ Tagore, *Reminiscences*, pp. 216-20, 223-24, 225, 236-38.

¹⁴ Deshpande, *Dr. Ranade's Life of Light*, p. 236. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

subject. This does not lead to another subject opposed to its object, but to...a transcendental subject which is identified with its object...The real point of asserting the unreality of an object *qua* object is to further the withdrawal from all external objective supports, both through the increasing introversion of transic meditation and through the advance on the higher stages of a Bodhisattva's career...at the very last stage of his journey he comes to realise that with the final collapse of the object also the separate subject has ceased to be...The images seen in transic concentration are exactly like those reflected in a mirror...there is just one single stream of thought, which manifests itself as split into a double aspect, i.e. a thought which sees and a thought which is seen."¹⁶

Swami Ramdas of Anandashram, Kanhangad, has written two autobiographical books which give a clear account of the process here called projective extroversion. He was a failure in business and disappointed in his family life, and these circumstances helped to turn his interest away from the world. He concerned himself less and less with practical affairs, led an increasingly ascetic life, and felt a growing interest in religion. He was about thirty-eight when the crisis came. He read the *Gita*, *The Light of Asia*, the New Testament, and some of Gandhi's writings. "It was at this time that it slowly dawned upon his mind" (he writes about himself in the third person) "that Ram was the only Reality and that all else was false. Whilst desires for the enjoyment of worldly things were fast falling off, the consideration of *me* and *mine* was also wearing out...All thought, all mind, all heart, all soul was concentrated on Ram."

One night he asked himself why he should not throw himself entirely on God's mercy, by giving up all possessions. He read some passages about the Great Renunciation, and about forsaking everything and inheriting eternal life, and then resolved to leave home early the next morning. He left Mangalore with a few books and twenty-five rupees. He took the train and got out at Erode. "At Erode he found himself strangely helpless, without any plans or thought for the future. He did not know where he was being led by Ram." Asked

¹⁶ Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, pp. 252-54.

by a traveller where he was going, "he was unable to say anything in reply." This man took him to Trichinopoly. The next night he slept in the verandah of a house, and in the morning he walked to Srirangam. Here for the first time it occurred to him to go on the conventional pilgrimage to holy places. At Srirangam "the thrills of a new birth, a new life, with the sweet love of Ram was felt. A peace came upon Ramdas's struggling soul. The turmoil ceased. Sorrow, pain, anxiety, and care—all vanished never to return." Here he met a sadhu, who proposed to take him to Rameshwaram. He agreed, and gave the man all the money he had left, nine rupees. "He felt much relieved by doing so. To carry money is to carry anxiety with you; for it draws your attention to it now and again." Some days later, when he was at Chidambaram, alone, he met a man who asked him if he had had any food that day, and gave him some. For some time he appears to have been almost helpless in the absence of others willing to feed and guide him. "His imaginative faculty for making plans and seeking information was totally absent."

He continued his pilgrimage, and some months later found himself in the Himalaya at Kedarnath. Here, he and a companion climbed a hill. "For nearly half the way Ramkinker accompanied him and then he refused to go higher up with Ramdas, both on account of cold and the danger of slipping down. Meanwhile, Ramdas, who had surrendered himself into the hands of Ram, mounted higher and higher until he reached the summit of the hill, and touched its narrow conical peak. As he touched the top he gave a cry of triumph... Now descent was most perilous, an unguarded step or a slight slip meant a headlong fall, and certain destruction of the body. However, when Ram guides where is the fear? He slowly crept down, nay slipped down the hill. While doing so, it began to rain white solid globules of snow. He had ascended without any warm clothing. But by Ram's grace he felt neither cold nor fear. It took five hours to accomplish this ascent..."¹⁷

"He was a dazed and helpless creature caught in the grip of an all-powerful being... His mind was merged in a unique stillness of peace; his life was one of unreserved self-surrender;

¹⁷ Ramdas, *In Quest of God*, pp. xi-19, 83.

and as regards the world, in a sense it was not there for him... indifferent to—nay, unconscious of—his body and environment... He felt that there was none other than himself and his great master, Ram... He would be dragged down with a jerk, as it were, to the sense of the old world and its associations, but he would be instantly pulled up by that silent and watchful spirit within... The sense of fear had vanished from him entirely... Some friends declared that they observed him as having been possessed of extreme dispassion... He felt, in fact, nothing to interest him in the world, and curiosity he had none... Love and hate, like and dislike, conveyed no meaning for him."¹⁸ Ramdas's teaching seems to be rather emphatically unintellectual and to stress God's love.

Pratibha, Prajna

In some of their occurrences, the words *pratibha* and *prajna* appear to mean what is here called projective extroversion or the universal vision resulting from it. *Pratibha* occurs in the *Yoga Sūtras* (III.33), translated by Woods: "or as a result of vividness (*pratibha*) (the yogin discerns) all"; and III.36: "As a result of this (constraint upon that which exists for its own sake), there arise vividness and the organ of supernal hearing and the organ of supernal feeling and the organ of supernal sight and the organ of supernal taste and the organ of supernal smell." Ballantyne translates *pratibha* in III.36 as "a knowledge concerning all things."

Mr. K. Guru Dutt says: "...the word is derived from the root *bha*, to shine, be bright or luminous... The prefix *prati*... signifies a turning back... The nearest equivalent to *pratibha* would thus be 'reflection.' " Yoga "stands for an ideal consciousness in which... the subject and the object merge; *samādhi prajna*, of which the penultimate stage is *pratibha*." "Sadhana (effort) led to *siddhi* (accomplishment or achievement)... The ordinary intellectual powers are found inadequate for accounting for these phenomena, which are revealed, as it were, in a flash of light, a revelation characterised by immediacy and freshness. This flash is *pratibha*, but is often referred to as *prajna* or *samādhi prajna*... It has been described as the

¹⁸ Ramdas, *Vision*, pp. 2-4.

'vision of the many in the mirror of the One.' It is direct and unique perception." "Jayanta in his *Nyayamanjari* recognises yogi-pratyaksha as a form of pratibha, where the yogi sees everything simultaneously by the one-pointed mind."¹⁹

In Hemachandra's *Kavyanushasana*, "in strict accord with Jaina tenets...the soul is self-luminous by nature...but ordinarily its brightness is veiled by the obstruction caused by certain karmas. When this obstruction is removed or suppressed, pratibha bursts forth in splendour." In Buddhism, sila (rule of conduct) and dhyana (concentrated attention) are "the steps which lead to the attainment of prajna...sometimes called bodhi or enlightenment...an intuition of the whole quite distinct from a discursive process of reasoning. As Keith says, 'The view of intuition as a source of true knowledge, and at the same time a decisive cause of emancipation, is characteristic of Buddhism as of the Upanishads.'...The special point about prajna is that it can be and has to be cultivated and developed. It results in complete knowledge, which Keith specifically compares with the Bergsonian intuition."

"The possession of the prajna-chakshu (eye of intuition) is the distinguishing mark of the Arahant...In the Zen type of Buddhism (prajna) came to occupy the entire picture. According to Shen-hui, seeing into one's self-nature (=seeing into nothingness) is the illumination of this world of multiplicity by the light of prajna... 'The mind which is present in all things being pure, there is in it the light of prajna, which illumines the entire world-system to its furthest end.' " This illumination which dawned all of a sudden was called satori. "In one place the *Mahabharata* says that pratibha arises only when the gunas have been surpassed...the idea of pratibha is ultimately connected with the symbolic 'third eye' of Siva, which is sometimes designated prajna-chakshu."²⁰

Several of these statements made or quoted by Guru Dutt support the view that pratibha and prajna sometimes refer to projective extroversion. A brightness which is turned back or reflected; a consciousness in which subject and object merge; a flash or revelation; the vision of the many in the mirror of

¹⁹ Q.J.M.S. (Bangalore, July 1961), pp. 52-58.

²⁰ Q.J.M.S. (October 1961), pp. 105-8.

the One; seeing everything simultaneously; an intuition of the whole; a source of knowledge and also a cause of emancipation; which has to be cultivated; seeing into one's self-nature, which is the illumination of the world of multiplicity—all apply to projective extroversion.

Nishkama karma

Tagore seems to have achieved projective extroversion unexpectedly. Doubtless this happens to others, even those who practise yoga or meditation. But from the standpoint of public policy, the encouragement of projective extroversion must have presented itself as a problem calling for solution. The tendency of the narcissistic personality is towards introversion, and the religious and spiritual techniques which it develops accentuate this trend to the point of totality. The result is that the most highly developed and potentially valuable personalities withdraw entirely from public affairs—a disastrous situation. If, on the other hand, introversion is checked, the result will be to encourage the type of the average sensual man, who in a generally narcissistic culture will be strongly egoistic and of weak conscience—again a disastrous situation. But an acceptable solution does not require a repudiation or reversal of the narcissistic trend; a solution can be found by accentuating this trend and encouraging total internal cathexis, but then bringing about projective extroversion.

It appears that three principal methods have been devised to do this. One was the Buddhist method of stressing the doctrine of anatta. The second was to stress the principal teaching of the *Gita*, nishkama karma. The third was bhakti. The *Gita* also teaches bhakti, but this is psychologically a quite distinct method, which as a matter of history came into its own centuries later.

This psychological purpose behind the teaching of nishkama karma supplies a solution to an ethical puzzle. Nishkama karma corresponds to the natural trend of the narcissistic psyche, but at the ethical level it is hard to justify. While detachment from the outcome of obligatory action makes no difference to the outer world, it provides the subject with consolation in case of failure. This may be a gain, but the moralist will not always

approve. For example, a father should try to prevent his son from becoming a criminal, but if he fails, should he console himself with the reflection that he never really cared? Thus nishkama karma, as an ethical injunction, is equivocal. At any rate, the outstanding ethical value ascribed to it is hard to understand. If, however, its primary importance is as a psychological technique for producing projective extroversion, this ethical puzzle is resolved.

The main injunctions of the *Gita*, in which its teaching is always summed up, are to root out desire, but nevertheless to act; or alternatively to act without desire for the result or fruit of the action. The destruction of desire for external things will cause the libido to cathect entirely upon the ego. If then the subject is required to act, this must tend to prevent or to take the subject beyond an entirely introverted, yogi-like development, and to lead to the third possibility, projection. Thus nishkama karma is a formula for the production of projective extroversion. If the *Gita* is considered from this point of view, it will be seen that most of its injunctions encourage this trend.

It teaches in so many words the destruction of desire (III. 41, 43; XII.11, 13-19; XIII.7-11; XV.5; XVI.1, 2; XVII. 17-25; XVIII.6, 9-12, 23, 26, 49). It conveys the same idea by terms such as control of the mind or senses, balance, and freedom from the pairs of opposites (II.38, 45, 49; IV.22; V.3, 18; VI.7, 9; XV.3, 5; XVI.22). This is difficult, but can be achieved by practice (VI.35-36). It then teaches libidinal cathexis on the ego, using such phrases as knowledge of the self or spirit, satisfaction in the self, the supremacy of the self, seeing everything in the self, withdrawing into the self like a tortoise (II.20-25, 55, 58; III.17, 42; IV.15; VI.29; XIII.23-24, 28).

It advocates action, or action without desire for the result (II.33, 38, 40, 47; III.4-9, 14-15, 19-20, 25-26, 30, 35; IV.20-22; V.2; XVIII.7). Further, to check attachment to action, it teaches that the supposed performer of the act does not really do it (III.27; XIII.29; XIV.25; XVI.2; XVIII.17, 23). It is nature, prakriti, which performs all actions: the self does not participate (III.27; XIII.5-6, 29; XIV.25). With the same purpose of preventing attachment to action the

poem says: act as God's agent (XI.33), or regard all actions as sacrifices to God (III.8-9, 30; IV.23; V.10; IX.27; XII.10; XVIII.57, 66).

Then comes the stage of projection of the introverted libido. The wise man, the poem says, acts in order to maintain the world order (III.20, 25). The act, which is a sacrifice, is identical with Brahman (IV.24). The material universe is created and re-created by God (VIII.18; IX.6-7). God's day is a thousand times as long as the four ages of the world (VIII.17). God knows the future: these Kurus, Arjuna's enemies, are already slain (XI.33). Thus the devotee is encouraged to identify with the cosmos—the attitude of the projective extrovert.

The *Gita* teaches bhakti, worship (III.30; XII.2, 6, 9; XV.19), but this is not incompatible with identification with God. To show this it says that the worshipper "enters into Me" (XI.54; XIII.18; XIV.19; XVIII.55), "abides in Me" (XII.8), "attains Me" (XII.9), "attains Brahma" (XIII.30), "realises Me" (XII.11). "God realisation" is presumably identification with God. The poem reiterates throughout that the individual self is identical with God (IV.10, 35; V.20, 25, 26; VI.25-30; VII.7, 17-19; IX.6-7, 15-19; X.4-6, 20; XII.5; XIII.2, 13-17, 22, 29; XV.7; XVIII.53). Similarly, the enlightened self sees everything in itself (IV.35; VI.29; XII.3; XIII.32). Alternatively, God is the self of everybody (III.30; VI.30; X.20; XIII.2, 24, 27, 33; XV.11, 15; XVIII.61), and is in everything (IV.35; VI.30; VIII.7, 17, 19; IX.6, 16; X.4-6; XI.9-31; XIII.13-17; XV.12-14; XVIII.20, 46).

The references given here, which are not exhaustive, convey an idea of the repetitiveness of the poem. It is a work of no great length—700 couplets—presenting few difficulties of comprehension, and is said to have great poetic power. It has been accepted as authoritative for 2,000 years. Its influence in moulding the Hindu psychic type must have been very great.

Beyond the three gunas

Gita (VI.24-29) seems to be a summary account of the

process of projective extroversion: giving up all desire for things of the world, through practice attaining tranquillity and concentrating on God, one becomes sinless and identified with God, and enjoys the eternal bliss of union with God; he who thus attains identification with the infinite consciousness looks upon everything equally and sees the self in all things, and all things in the self. *Gita* (XIV.22-25) also gives an account of it, but in the terms of the Samkhya philosophy: he who has no aversion to light, which is Sattvik, or to activity, which is Rajasik, or to stupor, which is Tamasik, when they are present, and equally has no desire for them when they are absent; who, taking the attitude of the witness, is not influenced by the three gunas; who treats alike joy and sorrow, gold and a stone, the pleasant and the unpleasant, praise and blame, honour and shame, friend and foe; who has overcome the illusion that he is the performer of actions; such a man has risen above the three gunas.

Most of this passage could describe the state of the yogi who remains completely detached from external concerns, but it adds that he has no aversion to activity. In any case, in the context of the *Gita*, which so strongly emphasises activity, it can only mean projective extroversion, the state of the karmayogi or jivanmukta.

Sthitaprajna

In Tagore's account of projective extroversion, he says that he experienced it several times. "I repeatedly tried...and was invariably rewarded." This implies that the condition lasted only for a time, and that he then resumed his former state. We do not know how long Tagore continued to have such experiences, but we may assume that they ceased after a time, no doubt leaving a strong impression, and that projective extroversion did not become his permanent condition. Swami Ramdas, on the other hand, appears to have attained to projective extroversion only once, and never to have returned to his former state. The classical term for men of the type of Ramdas is *Sthitaprajna*. The intensity of cathexis is of course capable of variation, and the psycho-analysts say that libido which ceases to cathect upon an external object returns

temporarily to the ego. This is what happened in Tagore's experience, which was unusual only in that not merely part but all of the formerly extroverted libido returned to the ego. His vairagya was not of an extreme type: he merely experienced a temporary indifference to the external world. Ramdas, on the other hand, as the outcome of a long process of increasing disenchantment with life, achieved a permanent condition of total detachment.

"In Shankara's words," writes Hiriyanna, "life is characterised by avidya-kama-karma, i.e. desire and strife, arising out of the ignorance of the ultimate truth... The absence of desire, then, is the determining condition of pleasure; and its presence, that of pain. The absence of desire may be due to any cause whatever—to a particular desire having been gratified, or to there being, for the time, nothing to desire... Joy or bliss is the intrinsic nature of the self according to the Vedanta... In the case of a jnanin the true source of this delight is known; but even when such enlightenment is lacking we may experience similar delight... the ever-recurring series of kama and karman or interest and activity constitutes life. The elimination of kama and karman while their cause, avidya, continues in a latent form, marks the aesthetic attitude; the dismissal of avidya even in this latent form marks the saintly attitude. Thus the artistic attitude is one of disinterested contemplation but not of true enlightenment."²¹ Doubtless, men who were not artists have experienced temporary projective extroversion as Tagore did, but it may be more than a coincidence that this account of the aesthetic and the saintly types corresponds exactly with what has been said above about Tagore and Ramdas. It may be that Shankara's analysis of the aesthetic attitude is more realistic than would at first be supposed.

²¹ Hiriyanna, *Art Experience*, pp. 9-10.

Chapter 3

PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS

PHILOSOPHICAL AND ETHICAL doctrines which have been popular for a long time are likely to correspond with the prevailing personality type. Since the earliest Upanishads, Indian thought seems to have been fascinated by the theory that the individual soul is identical with the universal spirit. This is the central proposition of the Advaita version of the Vedanta philosophy. It is the clearest possible expression of the narcissistic attitude.

Since the same early period Indian thought has been much influenced by the feeling that life in the world is worthless. It is again the attitude of the narcissistic psyche. Much libido is concentrated upon the ego, and little upon external objects, which therefore appear devoid of value.

Vishishtadvaita

The expositors of Vedanta do not all adhere to pure monism. An influential school sets forth a doctrine of "qualified" monism. This recognises the difficulty of regarding all existents as literally identical. Ramanuja, the most eminent teacher of the school, takes as his text the upanishadic passage: "He who dwells in the world, and is within it, whom the world does not know, whose body is the world, and who controls the world from within, is the self, the inner ruler, immortal."¹ Dr. Radhakrishnan expounds the doctrine thus: "Souls and matter are comprehended within the unity of the Lord's essence and are related to the Supreme as attributes to a substance, as parts to a whole, or as body to the soul which animates it...Souls, matter, and God are three, on account of their natural differences, but one on account of the identity

¹ Mahadevan, *Outlines*, p. 153.

of the modes and substance...Brahman is the inner self of all. One can say that as Brahman 'constitutes my "I" also, all is from me, I am all, within me is all'..."²

Thus the difference of the doctrine from pure monism does not derive from a different psychical constitution. The identification of the self and the universe is fully maintained.

This is true also of the other orthodox philosophical systems. They are pluralistic in various ways, but while their intellectual trend is to that extent realistic, they submit in the end to the influence of the inward-directed emotion of those who discuss them.

Dwaita

The one important exception to this generalisation is the Dwaita, dualistic, doctrine first expounded by Madhvacharya. It very definitely stresses the difference between the soul and God, and the plurality of souls. But this philosophy has a religious counterpart, which shows some characteristics of the normal narcissistic outlook (see chapter on Vaishnavism). It seems likely that the marked divergence from type at the philosophical level was due to the objection felt by the school to the social or political consequences of the Advaita philosophy. The followers of Madhva used strong language about Shankara and considered him a Buddhist in disguise.

Samkhya

The Samkhya philosophy is theoretically pluralistic, in that it recognises many souls. But this recognition is quite abstract. There seems to have been no discussion of a community of souls or of the relation of one soul to another. The system has no god, but regards souls (*purusha*) and nature (*prakriti*) as different in kind. Keith summarises the doctrine thus: *purusha* is the subject, not the object; it has freedom; it is conscious, as against unconscious nature; it takes no part of any kind in activity, and produces nothing. Through the union of the spirit with nature, the fine body, though itself without consciousness, becomes conscious. Spirit, really indifferent, thus appears as an actor. But the conjunc-

² Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II. 684-88.

tion is not intended to be permanent; spirit joins nature in order that nature may be revealed to it, and in order to obtain freedom from it.³ Keith goes on to point out the difficulties of the doctrine, one of which is the abstract character of the spirits. "Their number and individuality are conditioned by the possession of a different objective content in consciousness, and when this is removed there would remain nothing at all, or at most the abstract conception of subject, which could not be a multitude of individual spirits."⁴

From the psychological standpoint, therefore, the purusha is a single spirit, i.e. it is the consciousness of the believer. It is not placed in any relation with other spirits; it is not placed in any relation to god, for the system has no god; and it is indifferent to the material world, a spectator, not an actor, concerned only to achieve freedom from its entanglement with matter, which it attains by knowledge of the truth, i.e. without action. The theory therefore provides the purusha with no object other than itself for which it can have any feeling. The purusha of the Samkhya is just as narcissistic as the atman of the Advaita. The Samkhya is therefore quite suitable as the philosophical framework of the Yoga system, which is a practical technique for achieving emotional isolation and self-development in that isolation.

Nyaya-Vaisheshika

Ontologically, the Nyaya and Vaisheshika systems, which are almost identical, hold that the world consists of large numbers of souls and of atoms. They develop complex and subtle arguments to discover the nature of souls and atoms. But again this interest in the outer world does not prevail till the end. "The Vaisheshika or the Naiyayika has as his goal the abolition of pain consequent on birth in physical bodies, which is caused by desires for objects. He therefore sets about analysing the composition of objects, and when he learns to estimate them at their proper value, he ceases to hanker for them, thereby abolishing birth and pain."⁵

The soul is held to suffer from three defects: desire, aversion,

³ Keith, *Samkhya System*, pp. 75-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ Srinivasa Iyengar, *Outlines*, p. 212.

and ignorance. Desire is the concentration of libido upon external objects. Aversion is the concentration of aggressiveness upon external objects. Ignorance is the false valuation which makes such desire and aversion possible. These defects are dispelled by knowledge, i.e. right valuation. When knowledge is achieved, action, sorrow, and rebirth cease.⁶ Thus the *summum bonum* in this philosophy also is the complete withdrawal of cathexis from everything except the ego.

Karma Mimamsa

The Karma or Purva Mimamsa is also in principle realistic and pluralistic. It accepts as authoritative the ritualistic texts, and holds that the correct performance of the rituals produces the desired result, without the intervention of a god. But beyond this point the absolutist bent of mind prevails. Jaimini, the earliest named authority, held that the soul is sinless, free from death and sorrow, omniscient and omnipotent.⁷ This is of course the pure narcissistic creed. Later authorities such as Prabhakara and Kumarila opposed the doctrine of creation, and held that the soul is omnipresent, that life is full of misery, that liberation follows when the soul becomes disgusted with life, and that the liberated soul exists without pleasure or pain and without cognition. Kumarila says that the liberated soul has pure consciousness but no cognition. An important treatise of the school in later times adds the doctrine that there is only one soul, of which individual selves are unreal differentiations.⁸ Gopinath Kaviraj says: "Kumarila believed in the unity of Paramatma (the supreme spirit) and in the multiplicity of Jivas (individual spirits), and in the essential identity of the two... The Supreme Self, which alone is eternal, is one and is present in every individual. This is exactly the teaching of the Vedanta."⁹

From the psychological point of view, therefore, all the six philosophical systems traditionally accepted as orthodox are fully narcissistic. Other philosophical systems, propounded by leaders of theistic or bhakti movements, have attained popu-

⁶ Mahadevan, *Outlines*, pp. 108, 111.

⁷ Keith, *Karma Mimamsa*, p. 77.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-73.

⁹ *Tantravarttika*, Vol. I, "Introduction," p. xi.

larity. But just as the Samkhya and the Vaisheshika combine ontological pluralism with psychological monism, so many of these theistic doctrines encourage not only worship but identification with God, and so are in the psychological sense monistic and narcissistic. (See chapters on Vaishnavism and Shaivism.)

Radical Humanism

A striking illustration of this tendency of Indian thinking towards monism is the doctrine propounded a few years ago by the late M. N. Roy. He had been a communist, and he remained strongly influenced by Marxism and repudiated religion. His outline statement of his doctrine of Radical Humanism set forth an evolutionary materialism. At the physical and biological levels, it said, nature is law-governed, and at the human level this conformity with natural law expresses itself as rationality, while rationality in its turn implies morality. The theory thus asserts as a basic proposition that morality is natural to man, and therefore accepts without qualification the development of human potentialities as a desirable purpose.

The present writer attended some of the discussions at which this statement was drafted. Having been brought up in a punitive tradition, which takes as much notice of differences as of similarities, he felt that it is a questionable jump from the law-governed to the rational; while an outlook moulded as much by aggressiveness as by libido tends to regard rationality as morally neutral, perfectly capable of being used for bad purposes, and to see evil as well as good in human potentiality. Later he wrote suggesting that the doctrine could be held together by assumptions of the Platonic type, according to which all ideas form an integrated system and are subordinated to the Idea of the Good.

Roy and the other acute and learned men of the group were unimpressed. They seemed to find it quite possible to ignore differences and to overlook the "problem of evil." The narcissistic psyche, untouched at its deeper levels by aggressiveness, and dominated by libido, tends strongly in its philosophising towards monism and cosmic optimism.

Relativism

Professor Irawati Karve points out the importance of relativism in Hindu thought.¹⁰ Relativism is probably emotional as much as logical, and may be attributable to the freedom of the psyche from aggressiveness. The central propositions of a man's own philosophy are absolute, and when he is discussing philosophy the Hindu thinker is at least as capable of argumentative rigour as the product of other cultures. But, in less professional contexts, he tends to regard other doctrines as not without value for those in lower stages of intellectual or spiritual progress. A favourite way of expressing this attitude is to say that such doctrines concern the external world, which in the true narcissist's view is a realm of minor importance.

Ethics

Since the composition of the *Gita*, Indian ethical thought has been strongly influenced by its main teaching, that a man must do his duty in the world, but must set no store by the practical outcome of what he does. That is, even when he is outwardly active, his interest must remain detached from the outer world and therefore directed inward. Among moderns, Vivekananda, Tilak, and Gandhi have stressed this doctrine. None of these was a contemplative; all demanded action in the world. But they added that one must not finally commit oneself to outward things. This is an attitude quite different from that typical of the punitive, who feels that it is his highest duty to involve himself passionately in work for the benefit of the world.

Even Shankara, the most eminent exponent of pure monism, did not deny the need for outward activity. A learned commentator says that Shankara preached three groups of virtues. The first is that given in the *Yoga Sutras*, (I.33): sympathy with the happy, compassion for the unhappy, including such action for the unhappy man's relief as lies in one's power, joy at the sight of virtue, and indifference to the wicked. The second group is that set forth in Shankara's *Gita Bhashya* (13.7-11): absence of self-esteem and self-assertion; doing no

¹⁰ Karve, *Hindu Society*, pp. 87-101.

injury, and not being affected when others have done any injury; inner purity, consisting in the removal from the mind of attachment and other passions; direction to the right path of the body and its organs, which otherwise are attracted in all directions; thinking of what evil there is in birth, age, disease, and death; non-attachment to things which may form objects of attachment; not being jubilant over attaining the desirable nor chafing on attaining the undesirable; the society of disciplined men, for such society is an aid to self-realisation, and distaste for the society of ordinary undisciplined men. The third group is that of the *Gita Bhashya* (16.1-3): abandonment of deception, dissimulation, falsehood, and the like in all practical transactions; recognition of the true nature of things; concentration through the subjugation of the senses; constant steadiness of attitude; abstaining from injury to sentient beings; speaking of things as they are without giving utterance to what is unpleasant or false; suppression of anger arising when reviled or beaten; compassion for the suffering; absence of fickleness.¹¹

Shankara's first group of virtues includes an interest, though of a somewhat passive type, in one's fellow-creatures. The fourth item in this group: indifference to the wicked, is characteristic. The psyche in which the inner check provided by inward-turned aggressiveness is weak is inclined to be irritable: the teachers lay almost as much stress on the restraint of anger as on the restraint of libidinal attachment.

Shankara's second and third groups of virtues are almost wholly inward-directed and concerned with self-cultivation. The first item, absence of self-esteem and self-assertion, may seem to contradict the present thesis, that the Hindu psyche is narcissistic. But the classical psychological theory holds that the self is dual or multiple: the empirical ego is material, and attachment to it is condemned, but there is associated with each individual a non-material entity, the *atman*, *purusha* or *jiva*, and the inward-directed virtues are cultivated in order to realise or release this entity. Thus the libido is concentrated upon it, with the approval of traditional teaching. But since the *atman* is non-empirical, there is no difference, from the psycho-

¹¹ Kokileswar Sastri, *Advaita Philosophy*, pp. 218-20.

logical standpoint, between libidinal cathexis upon it and upon the unconscious part of the ego.

Traditional teaching is aware of the danger that confusion between the atman and the empirical ego may lead to selfishness and vanity. The *Yogavashishtha* says: "There are three kinds of egoism, ahamkara. Of these, two are beneficial, but the third is bad and should be abandoned. The first is that of the Supreme ego which pervades the universe. Meditate on the words 'I am Brahman'; identify yourself with Brahman. That is sattvik egoism. That knowledge by which we perceive our own self to be subtle and eternal is the second kind of egoism. These two kinds of egoism lead to liberation. The third kind of egoism is that which identifies the ego with the body. This is bad. It is found in worldly people. It causes rebirth...."¹² Modern expositions contain warnings far more emphatic than this. The stress on the dangers of egoism and egotism and the many subtle disguises they assume is testimony to the narrowness of the margin which divides right from wrong in this matter, and confirms the account here given.

Kokileswar Sastri argues that mediaeval and modern opinion has placed too much stress on the element of detachment and inactivity in Shankara. It could also be argued that common opinion has exaggerated Shankara's isolation in that respect from the general trend of ethical teaching. S. K. Maitra has surveyed the ethical injunctions and analysis of the classics from Manu onward.

Manu distinguishes between the duties relative to station in life (varna and ashrama) and common duties. The common duties are ten: steadfastness, forgiveness, application, avoidance of theft, cleanness, repression of the senses and appetites, wisdom, learning, veracity, restraint of anger. "...nearly all the duties have reference to the attainment of the individual's own perfection. There is practically no recognition of the social duties proper...Hindu morality primarily aimed at the autonomy of the individual...it is this ideal which dominates the Hindu doctrine of the Law of Karma—the law which apportions to each individual what he has himself earned by

¹² *Yogavashishtha*, Stithi Prakarana.

his own deeds...No man can help another in the attainment of his end: just as he cannot reap what another has sown, so also he cannot help another to his fruition...There are thus no duties which are not strictly speaking duties to self, and duty in the sense of positive moral aid to others is self-contradictory in its very conception."

Prasastapada gives a list of ten common virtues, in which four of Manu's are replaced by: moral earnestness, refraining from injury, goodwill to creatures, and moral watchfulness. Refraining from injury and seeking the good of creatures "represent the negative and positive aspects of a more inclusive and humanitarian ideal of life, in which the individual can achieve his moral end only by going beyond himself." The Mimamsakas divide the duties into secular and scriptural. "The secular duties are only inductions from experience as to what is beneficial or injurious, and as such inductions are not infallible, only a problematic and relative authority attaches to these human institutions and conventions." Like their metaphysics, therefore, the ethics of the Mimamsakas is narcissistic in its tendency.

Maitra gives a fourth exposition of the duties, that of the Ramanuja school. They "are to be regarded as representing certain perfections which must be ascribed to God as the moral ideal...For example, absolute knowledge consisting in enlightenment of ignorance, all human knowledge can have no other end or goal than the enlightenment of ignorant fellow-creatures...power can have no other meaning or justification than putting the weak in the way of achieving their own good. Clemency similarly is the proper attitude towards the morally guilty..." The teaching of the Ramanuja school therefore transforms all the duties into duties towards fellow-creatures. But like the *Gita*, though by a different psychological method, it does so without requiring a change of the psychic structure. It does so by internalising God or the moral ideal, that is, by identifying the ego with God, or cathecting upon the ego-ideal. As will be seen below, some other teachers of the bhakti school reconcile bhakti with the narcissistic psychic structure by the same means. Maitra seems to recognise this, for he concludes his account of these

four schemes of duties with this reservation: "It must be remembered however that Hindu morality primarily aimed at self-autonomy. Even the communal duties have in fact this end of self-autonomy in view: they are debts to the community by the discharge of which the individual gradually qualifies for freedom and self-sufficiency."¹³

Moral rigour

The theoretical moral teaching of a community dominated by punitives will be more rigorous and repressive than that of a narcissistic community. To the occidental, always assured that he is steeped in sin and that only the utmost effort will suffice, it is a surprise to find a God asked how one may get to heaven with the minimum of trouble. "Brahma said, 'How, with the performance of slight austerities, may one get unending prosperity and health, O Lord of the Immortals? How may men attain emancipation by practising brief austerities? ...Be pleased to explain to me how, by practising small austerities, one may get a large reward.'"¹⁴

From the occidental standpoint, the traditional teaching of Hinduism is markedly permissive, especially in regard to sex, which the punitive forbids most vehemently, while it is rigorous about violence. Vyasa expounds to Yudhishtira the principal classes of forbidden actions. They include "refusal, though able, to beget children upon a soliciting woman." But even in those times, he sinned who "kills an animal wilfully." "A pupil committing a theft for his preceptor in a time of distress ...Only one who steals under such circumstances without reserving for himself any portion thereof, is not sullied by sin." "A falsehood may be uttered...for the sake of one's preceptor, or for gratifying a woman, or for bringing about a marriage."¹⁵

Beyond good and evil

The Westerner is accustomed to the identification of God with the good. The Christian missionaries have always found it hard to show tolerance to the Hindu doctrine that God is

¹³ Maitra, *Ethics of the Hindus*, pp. 8-9, 16, 20, 23, 25.

¹⁴ *Matsya P.*, LXIX, 2-3.

¹⁵ *Mbh.*, Shanti P., XXXV, 7-25.

beyond ethics. Indeed, not only God but the liberated man is beyond ethics. On the present theory this passing beyond ethics is intelligible. In the nature of the case, the psyche which is dominated by libido can achieve rest, fulfilment, or satisfaction, whereas the psyche dominated by aggressiveness can never do so. Good is that upon which libido is directed, while evil is that upon which aggression is directed. When the introversion of libido becomes complete, there is no longer any direction of either libido or aggression upon external objects, and there is therefore no occasion for aggression by the super-ego. Thus the psychical substructure of the moral life ceases to operate and the categories of ethics appear no longer to have application.

Non-violence

The unsophisticated personality of the narcissistic type is not especially inclined to non-violence. On the contrary, the weakness of inward-directed aggression weakens the barrier, which in the punitive is strong, to aggressive external behaviour. The narcissist, though little inclined to unprovoked aggression, may be provoked to aggression more easily than the punitive. "It would appear," says Dharendra Narain, "that of all the Asian peoples, the Hindus are perhaps the least inhibited with regard to aggression."¹⁶ In the home, in business, in sport, in public life, Hindus are conspicuously quarrelsome, and street riots must be more frequent than in any other country. But such violence is normally unorganised. It occurs unexpectedly, it flares up and dies away quickly, and in a few hours everything is calm again. These facts support the view that aggression does not flow from a deep source, as in the punitive violence flows from the unconscious desire to kill the father. It is superficial, provoked by external events, and subject to a relatively weak internal check.

However, the absence of such a check is felt, and its place is taken by the ethical principle of non-violence. The rule of non-injury, though usually not prescribed for general observance, is old and pervasive. Schweitzer remarks, truly, that it

¹⁶ Dharendra Narain, *Hindu Character*, p. 49.

arose not from compassion but from a desire to remain unspotted from the world.¹⁷ There is other evidence of such a need. Many of the old books express a remarkable aversion for anger. The *Gita* does so in a dozen places.¹⁸

To provoke an ascetic to anger was an effective way to frustrate his efforts at spiritual progress. Viswamitra cursed the temptress Rambha to become a pillar of stone, and for this display of anger was himself punished by having to go back to the beginning and do another thousand years of tapasya.¹⁹ Indra seduced Gautama's wife, and Gautama in rage cursed him to impotence. Indra then said to the Gods: "By obstructing the ascetic practices of Gautama, I have served the purposes of the Gods. Evoking his wrath, I have robbed the Rishi of his spiritual power." The Pitris then grafted ram's testicles on Indra.²⁰ Gautama, in the part of the son, ostentatiously refrained from sexual rivalry to the Gods, the fathers, hoping thereby to induce or compel them to yield to his requests. Indra claimed that he had frustrated this plan by compelling Gautama to indulge in aggression. Gautama castrated him, but the Gods in gratitude restored him.

The narcissistic personality is typically the product of an upbringing in which the father does little to provoke the son's hostility. The positive Oedipus complex, aggressive feeling against the father, is not strongly developed. The negative Oedipus complex, fear of castration by the father, the passive homosexual attitude towards him, derives from identification with the mother, and is strong. It results at the conscious level in fear of offending those who stand for the father, either by showing them sexual rivalry, or by offering them violence, or by presumptuous behaviour. "A man, so long as he remains under his own father's roof, must keep up the fiction of denying that he leads an active sexual life of his own. Not to do so is to be disrespectful."²¹ A generation ago it was still customary to touch the feet of the father and other older and respected persons, and it is still possible to see people touching the feet of politicians.

¹⁷ Schweitzer, *Indian Thought*, p. 84.

¹⁸ *Gita* II. 62-3; III. 37; V. 23; VI. 9; VII. 27; XII. 15; XVI. 2, 4, 18, 21; XVIII. 53.

¹⁹ *Ramayana*, I. 64.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 49.

²¹ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, pp. 67-68.

Non-violence is a product of the same attitude. It is a precaution against being betrayed into such a mistake as Gautama made. It is of course only one of many expressions of the tendency to withdraw from the external world. The narcissistic personality values its isolation, as Jones noticed. It feels safer and stronger, and its superiority is buttressed, if it can check its emotional outflow, both libidinal and aggressive. Its posture is that of the life in the womb. It likens itself to a tortoise, which for safety withdraws its head and legs within its shell.²²

Karma

It might appear at first sight that the doctrine of Karma, with its assumption of a strict recompense for every action, is an expression of guilt feeling. This would make it appear a doctrine characteristic of the punitive type. It is of course not so. The typical feeling of the punitive, dominated by guilt caused by hostility to the father, is that God takes good deeds for granted, that sin weighs much more heavily in the balance, that in the course of justice none of us should see salvation. The belief in Karma, on the other hand, is equally supported by a demand for and belief in a just reward for good deeds. It is too optimistic for a punitive's theory; it accords rather with the narcissist's high opinion of the ego.

The statement quoted above from S. K. Maitra points to the psychical root of the Karma doctrine. It demands the apportionment to each soul of what he has himself earned by his own deeds. The narcissistic psyche begins with propitiation of the father: it castrates itself in order to ward off his hostility and buy his favour. As the infantile personal attitude evolves into an impersonal law, the narcissistic psyche retains the conception that it has paid the price in self-punishment and that its reward is due to it. Hence arises the idea that reward is exactly proportioned to suffering, and consequently that punishment is exactly proportionate to sin, and no more. "The idea of a contract," says Heimann, "between the devotee and the object of his devotion persists through all India's cosmic thought systems...the outpoured energy is a sacrifice...a

²² *Gita*, II.58.

concrete substance which, when directed to some object of devotion, increases its force, thus compelling it to achieve adequate counteraction."²³

This narcissistic demand for what the subject has himself earned takes the form of a general or philosophical demand that the cosmos shall be conducted according to ethical principles. The punitive, strongly influenced by aggressiveness, has little difficulty in supposing that the universe is indifferent, or even hostile, to man, and that ethics has no influence in its operations. The narcissist's universe is created by the projection of libido, and accordingly it is ethically admirable and hence just. The belief in Karma, cosmic justice, is held with remarkable intensity. As traditional doctrines fade, it seems to be one of the last to go.

Sin and ignorance

The basic emotion of the punitive's religion is guilt. Christianity has in practice stressed original sin, man's responsibility for Christ's suffering, the fear of God and of hell, more than the official, perhaps narcissistic, doctrine of the New Testament that God is love. Hindu teaching stands in marked contrast. There is no doctrine of original sin or of a supernatural atonement for man's sin. Ramakrishna "was always throwing ridicule on the Western conception that human beings are sinners."²⁴ Though the *Puranas* give lurid descriptions of the hells, fear of their pains does not seem to have been much stressed. Even the fear of God is not prominent.

It is often said that ignorance takes the place in Hinduism of sin in Christianity. "Though you are the worst of sinners, knowledge will enable you to overcome all sin," says the *Gita*.²⁵ The puzzle is resolved when it is realised what, in this context, knowledge means. Vyasa says, "The unison of intellect and mind and all the senses and the all-pervading soul is the highest kind of knowledge. . . One should try to obtain this knowledge by overcoming the five obstacles to yoga, namely, desire, anger, greed, fear, and sleep."²⁶ In the Advaita doctrine ignorance is that property of the finite intellect which misapprehends

²³ Heimann, *Indian and Western Philosophy*, p. 73.

²⁴ *Chaitanya to Vivekananda*, p. 108.

²⁵ *Gita*, IV.36. ²⁶ *Mbh.*, Shanti P., CCXL, 2-4.

the phenomenal world as the ultimate reality. The *Yoga Sutras* (II.5) say the same thing. Thus, ignorance is sometimes equated with maya.

It is true, therefore, that ignorance in Hinduism has some correspondence with sin in Christianity. Both are the fundamental obstacles to salvation. But they differ in nature, and their difference corresponds to the difference between the narcissistic Hindu psyche and the punitive Christian psyche. Sin in Christianity is what causes the super-ego to direct aggression against the ego; ignorance in Hinduism is what prevents the total cathexis of libido on the ego.

Pessimism

Otto has written comparing Hindu and Christian bhakti. The fundamental difference, in his view, is that referred to in the previous paragraph. "It is not an Isvara who saves us from samsara but a God who seeks and calls *sinner*s... India knows of a saviour, but not of an atoner."²⁷ But there is another important difference: "...this erring world rolls on... a chain and a yoke, without aim and without end, without meaning and without value." In the Christian view, on the other hand, "the world will at some time become the world of God and His Christ."²⁸ The disquisitions on the miseries of life in the body, and the desire to escape from the cycle of births, have led many foreigners to the same conclusion as Otto, that Hinduism is pessimistic. Hindus, however, have the same idea about Christianity. Bharati, the Tamil poet, wrote: "The one has a martyr for its ideal, the Christ, the God of suffering... its Church claims the blood of the martyrs for her seed. Its chief effort is to wash off the load of sin by denying oneself. The other upholds Rishis, soldiers of God, but the lovers of earth, with earthly happiness and not suffering for their watchword... It worships as its foremost incarnation Krishna, the Shepherd-Boy, with His flute of immortal melody, the darling of the fair shepherd-maids, the comrade and charioteer of valiant Arjuna... its gospel is the expansion and illumination, not the denial, of oneself."²⁹

²⁷ Otto, *Christianity* etc., pp. 58-59.

²⁹ Bharati, *Essays*, pp. 4-5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

Neither Otto's nor Bharati's claim of worldly optimism for his creed is entirely convincing. Both religions depreciate the world, though as a result of different feelings. The Christian rejects the world, if he does so, because it is sinful. The Hindu rejects it, if he does so, because it is painful, or ephemeral, or lacking in the capacity to satisfy. The Hindu view of the world is relatively free from guilt and so does not stress its sinful character, but as introversion grows the Hindu psyche becomes tired of this life. The aversion to rebirth expresses not any strong dislike of the world, but a stronger inclination towards the inner world. This seems to be the truth about the mutual accusations of pessimism. Judging from experience I should say that in their calm style Hindus are happier than occidentals, and this is no doubt due to their freedom from anxiety, i.e. unconscious guilt.

Guilt, history, and rebirth

The freedom of the narcissistic psyche from guilt leads it towards a different view from that held by the punitive about time and the past. Probably the most natural idea of the history and destiny of the race is to picture mankind as following a course similar to the individual life. The narcissist is fixated upon his mother, the first months of life, and the life in the womb, and he pictures the individual life as a circle away from and then back to its place of origin. The son who in fantasy returns to his mother's womb also identifies with her, and so castrates himself, for though he fears castration he also desires it. The course of the individual life through the four ashramas is cyclic. In the third ashrama a man ceases to be sexually active, and in the fourth he must not see his wife. It is a self-castration in preparation for the return to the womb; and the process is carried on to the next cycle through rebirth. Professor Wells shows that the classical Sanskrit plays follow a cyclic pattern, as contrasted with the linear, historical pattern of occidental plays.³⁰

In the punitive, owing to the guilt associated with his aggressive feelings against his father, the fear of castration is strong and prevails over the desire for it. The desire for the return

³⁰ Wells, *Classical Drama*, ch. 5.

to the womb is therefore more thoroughly repressed, and thus the cycle is broken. The individual life course is regarded as not cyclic but linear, and rebirth is denied. To the punitive, the most important event of the past is the murder of his father, by himself or those with whom he identifies, his ancestors. This murder of the god or national hero is associated with so much guilt feeling that the idea of a cyclic repetition of it is intolerable. It is therefore placed definitely in the past, and history is regarded as following a linear course. This is true of both types of punitives, those who at a superficial level identify with their father and tend to take a nostalgic view of the past, and those who hate their father, and so tend to be progressive.

Thus narcissists take the cyclic view of the past, and this tends to deprive history of interest. The belief in Avatars, Tirthankaras and Buddhas does not change this attitude. Their acts are regarded as historical events, but they are fitted into the cyclic pattern and are believed to have recurred innumerable times. Though this lack of uniqueness does not deprive the lives of Avatars, etc. of interest, it has that effect upon the actions of less distinguished figures.

God and man

The outward-turned emotion of the punitive gives a sharp image of God, and great interest in the nature of God. The punitive's God also derives a strong aggressive element from his worshipper and will therefore not tolerate a rival—the punitive is an aggressive monotheist, and his God is a distant and terrifying figure. The narcissist's Gods are less objective, more clearly internal, abstract, lacking in uniqueness and in hostility to man and to each other, and all subordinate to an entity, the Brahman, which is recognisable as the ocean of the subject's projected libido: it has the characteristics of "existence, intelligence, and bliss." It is dimly recognised that ultimately man worships nothing but himself: each worships the God of his choice, and Hindus do not press their Gods upon others.

(Punitives protect themselves from their aggressive God by allotting six days of the week to secular affairs. Hinduism

needs no such distinction, and religion pervades the whole of life.) But, correspondingly, Hindu religious observances seem to occidentals to lack reverence: they lack the emotional intensity which results from internalised aggression. Hindus shock earnest Christians by treating even religious subjects lightly. Stephen speaks of "the playfulness that meets us continually in the Upanishads, and indeed in all Indian writings... this vein of gently mockery at the heart of religious speculation... It is not the attitude of men engaged in a search the end of which is life or death for them."³¹ This light-hearted attitude is projected upon God, so that the creation of the universe is ascribed to his lila, play. Above all the punitive represses sex: his God is male, but sexless. The narcissist feels no such necessity, and likes Goddesses.

Man and nature

Narcissism is a continuance of the psychic state of the first months of infancy. At this stage the child projects its own emotions on all that it is aware of. In fact the ego is identified with the world. The cathexis of a large proportion of the libido upon the ego can have this paradoxical effect partly because of the relative absence of aggressiveness, which is the main cause of psychic separateness.

The result is that the narcissist tends to look upon the outer world as animated by emotions like his own. This community with the outer world may explain the inclination of Hindus towards non-violence in relation to animals, and the popular belief in reincarnation in animal forms. It may also help to explain the persistence of the belief in astrology.³² The basic assumption of astrology is a relation between the microcosm and the macrocosm, a relation which is not merely causal but analogical and emotional. But astrology is only the most systematised and respected of a mass of beliefs in the occult qualities of material objects, substances, colours, shapes, events, gestures, etc. The *Agni Purana* is an encyclopaedia of this lore. Opening it almost at random, one finds a chapter (CCXLVI)

³¹ Stephen, *Studies*, p. 48.

³² Together with the uncanny accuracy of some predictions. I am tempted to believe that a few astrologers, at least, have paranormal faculties.

on the auspicious and inauspicious qualities of gems, and another (CCXLVIII) on such qualities of flowers. If at the time of bathing a man cleans his body with the priyangu creeper, he will obtain a daily increasing purse (CCLXVII), and so on almost indefinitely. In some cases, at least, mental qualities are attributed to these objects: the heavenly bodies are explicitly classed as benevolent or malevolent. It is doubtful indeed if people would ever accept the connection of inanimate objects with human fortunes in a purely positivistic spirit. These beliefs clearly result from projection. Of course beliefs of this type are universal, but no other culture seems to have cherished so many of them or taken them so seriously.

The cosmic view

Heimann conducted a systematic comparison of Indian and European philosophy in the light of a philosophical analysis which aimed at revealing the original meanings of key words. The basic contrast which she drew is between the "anthropological" view dominant in Europe since the Greek Sophists, and the "cosmic" view which has always prevailed in Indian thought.³³ The anthropological view is that "man is the measure of all things"; that man is differentiated from the non-human world and can grasp it intellectually and control it practically. The cosmic view is one of identification of man with the universe.

It is plain that Heimann's cosmic view is that of the psyche dominated by libido, the unifying force; that is, it is the view characteristic of the narcissist, or more particularly of the projective extrovert, the jivanmukta. The anthropological view is that of the psyche dominated by aggressiveness, the force of separation; it is the punitive's view. To these two attitudes correspond traditional theories of the origin of the universe. Creation by a transcendental God is the belief characteristic of the punitive; the doctrine of immanence expresses the narcissistic identification with the universe.

Heimann points out that in Europe philosophy is the application to reality of reason, judgement, discrimination; whereas Hindu philosophy is a contemplation of reality. The European

³³ Heimann, *Indian and Western Philosophy*, p. 14.

philosophical system is a putting together in a rational order; the Indian darsana is a seeing. (p. 27.) European thought conceives the cosmos as an order fashioned by God according to some principle; the corresponding Hindu conception is rita, an immanent principle of order. (p. 34.) In European thought the spiritual principle is supreme; in Indian thought matter is on the same level as spirit. (p. 39.) In Europe God is unique and supreme; in India God is a product of nature. In Europe God is a creator; in India God tends to become functionless. (p. 41.) In Europe God is ethical, but it is doubtful if he possesses human qualities; in India God or nature is beyond good and evil, but possesses all human and other qualities. (pp. 42-43.) All these are variations upon the basic contrast between the European attitude of domination and the Hindu attitude of acceptance or identification with the world.

Heimann's discussion of ethics must be noticed, since it contradicts the statements in the earlier part of this chapter. As opposed to the Greek conception of duty towards various narrow groups, a duty which is imposed by Fate on the unwilling, the Hindu dharma is unrestricted in range, involving duties even to the inanimate constituents of the cosmos, and is not imposed by any compulsion but by an immanent necessity. (pp. 69-70.) Hindu ethics, she says, can be summed up in the word sat, which means both being and goodness. "Every dynamic expression of life, simply because it is life, is both true and good." (p. 75.) "The paramount ideal of Hindu ethics is to be at all stages of life a useful member of the universe." The duty of non-violence is "active participation in the cosmic contract, which involves an impartial guardianship of the rights of all parties thereto." The Buddhist maitri is "another expression of the same tendency towards cosmic balance and justice." (pp. 77-78.)

Evidently what is set forth here is the ethical attitude of the projective extrovert, who projects upon the whole universe his own love. The all-inclusiveness, impartiality, and balance here ascribed to dharma are truly attributable only to the feelings of those who have achieved emancipation while still in the body, i.e. the projective extroverts.

Chapter 4

SACRIFICE

THOUGH THE Hindu gospel, in the words of Bharati, is the expansion and illumination, not the denial of the self, Hinduism is also celebrated for self-abnegation, and in recent times it is self-abnegation that has been to the fore. (The visitor to India finds prohibition in force, dancing confined to a very narrow class, films in which kissing is totally prohibited, public behaviour of extreme decorum, and innumerable other manifestations of puritanism. If he follows public affairs, he will find trade union leaders fasting in order to compel employers to grant their demands. If he inquires into rural customs he may hear of a wife sitting on the points of nails in order to cure her sick husband, or an ascetic, seeing a temple car stuck in the mud, cutting himself with a sword in the belief that his suffering will induce it to move.¹

Puritanism is in part a modern development and derives to some extent from British Victorianism. However, even in the period of the greatest efflorescence of Hindu culture, when puritanism of the modern type was unknown, distinctive kinds of self-abnegation were practised. Readers of the Epics, the Puranas, the dramas, and the romantic stories, all dating from the pre-Muslim era, are struck by the respect shown for asceticism, the vogue of retirement to the forest, the magical efficacy ascribed to self-torture, the frequency of suicide. In the romantic stories about Vikramaditya and in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, suicide is a cliché.

Psycho-analysts would normally take such behaviour as self-punishment for unconscious guilt, and would expect to find corroborative evidence of the archetypal guilt-situation, the son's attempt to castrate and kill the father. Dr. Dharendra

¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, II.183, VII.410.

Narain assumes this analysis. "Between them, sex and aggression contain the maximum of energy... desires as a whole have been inveighed against, but Krishna (in the *Gita*) was most emphatic in his warning against anger and sex... If such powerful impulses have to be kept in check, equal, if not stronger forces will have to be applied... Is it any wonder, then, that the energy available for action is severely curtailed? ... The inversion of aggression upon the self would imply a great amount of underlying guilt. At its very best, the Hindu mind accepts the burden of guilt and directs the aggression inward, thereby displaying an unusual amount of patience and willingness to suffer."²

No doubt repression requires energy, but no energy is required to maintain a libidinal cathexis directed inward. He also assumes that aggression has to be repressed in the same way, and that, like the libido, aggressiveness flows in a steady stream or is a constant quantity. But aggression is, in part, a response to frustration or aggression against the ego, either from without or from within. In the Hindu psyche the aggression against the ego from within is, I believe, less intense than in the occidental; and consequently less aggression is provoked, and therefore less requires to be repressed.

Dhirendra Narain presents evidence from literature and from films to show that the theme of the positive Oedipus complex, the hostility of the son to the father, is never presented, even in a disguised form.³ This is hardly compatible with his view that the Hindu psyche inverts aggression upon the ego and represses a great deal of guilt. It supports the view taken in this book, that the positive Oedipus complex is weak, that hostility to the father seldom becomes important.

Rebellions against kings by their sons were markedly less frequent in Hindu and Buddhist dynastic history than in that of Indian Muslim dynasties. In the dozens of stories about royal families in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* there is only one instance of a son conspiring against his father (in ch. 41; the father is 700 years old. Eventually he sees reason and retires to the forest). In one of these stories (ch. 74), the king dis-

² Dhirendra Narain, *Hindu Character*, pp. 103-4, 117.

³ Dhirendra Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 133.

inherits his elder son. The queen sympathises with her son and advises him to engage a bodyguard. He replies: "This is not becoming; if I did this, I should be really opposing my father." A prince, after conquering a throne in another land, "thinks with longing of his father" (ch. 110). So far as I can recall, the literary evidence on this point is almost unanimous.

Deprivation

The literary evidence as to behaviour under deprivation also agrees with the view taken here. Situations in which libido lacks an object can be highly painful. Men have been known to die of boredom. The sudden loss of a major interest or love object is a familiar case. The psycho-analysts say that in the unconscious the subject takes such deprivation as a sign of guilt, the super-ego increases its offensive against the ego, and melancholia is apt to develop.

It is unlikely, however, that narcissistic subjects, distinguished by a weak super-ego and freedom from guilt, will react in this way. The narcissistic personality who has made some progress in self-cultivation along his natural path will be fortified against deprivation. He has achieved a considerable degree of non-attachment, i.e. not much libido is free to cathect upon external objects, and he has attained some self-control. If he is deprived of a love object he will not show much distress.

The less cultivated narcissist is more vulnerable. Much libido is cathected on the lost object, and its disposal is as difficult as for the punitive; its ultimate course is likely to be inward, but that will take time. The super-ego will take little part, and melancholia will not develop. The degree of self-control is poor. The subject is therefore likely to make an extravagant display of distress.

Descriptions of grief in the old books seem to be drawn from observation of the typical reactions of the less cultivated type of narcissist. Many readers of the *Ramayana* must have felt the incongruity of Rama's behaviour when he returns to the hut to find that Sita has disappeared. In the rest of the poem he is depicted as a highly detached and self-controlled

narcissist, but here his behaviour is that of the low-level narcissist. He vents his wrath upon Lakshmana, but this does not prevent him from giving the conventional exhibition of grief: he falls unconscious; he asks the trees and animals if they have seen her; he refuses to be comforted, insisting that she is dead; he reflects that he dare not return to Ayodhya, for they will deride him for being unable to protect her—a revealing thought. In the *Vikramorvasiya*, when Urvashi disappears, Pururavas behaves in a similar way. "Alas, how shall I be able to endure the pain of separation?" he cries—another revealing sentiment.

In the *Katha Sarit Sagara* nearly all the heroes and heroines pine away and grow pale, not from unrequited love, which never occurs in that book, but from the pains of separation. They toss on their beds, are afflicted by fever, and sandal-paste and fanning burn instead of cooling them. It is the convention in these stories for lovers separated from their beloved to resolve upon suicide, and in several cases, without taking any deliberate action, they die from the intensity of their emotions. Some of those heroes whom the reader is expected to regard with full sympathy, Kanakavarsha (ch. 55), Yasodhana (ch. 91), Sundarasena (ch. 101), Naravahanadatta (ch. 105, 106), stagger about distracted, fall unconscious, ask the trees where she has gone, and so forth.

A somewhat similar event, of which however the interpretation is not so certain, occurs in the *Silappadikaram*. The king of Madura is righteous, but he makes a mistake when he allows himself to be deceived by the queen's goldsmith and has Kovalan executed. Kannaki shows him that the anklet contains a gem, and so proves that Kovalan was innocent. "When he saw that gem, the king, with his umbrella falling and his sceptre faltering, said, 'Am I a ruler—I who have listened to the words of a goldsmith? It is I who am the thief. The protection of the subjects of the southern kingdom has failed in my hands for the first time. Let me depart from this life.' ... The saying... that dharma will become the god of Death to those who do sinful deeds, is not wrong."⁴ The poet may have felt that it is the consciousness of guilt that strikes

⁴ *Silappadikaram*, XX. 66-81 and Venba.

the king down. "It is I who am the thief" and "the god of Death to those who do sinful deeds" support this view. But some phrases suggest that the king's death is due to injured pride. "His umbrella falling and his sceptre faltering," "listened to the words of a goldsmith," "protection has failed in my hands for the first time." As in the stories cited previously, it seems to be a case of deprivation: cathexis not upon an external object but upon the ego-ideal is no longer possible, and like a deserted lover he dies. As a whole this evidence of the reaction to deprivation supports the view that the type of mind portrayed is narcissistic.

Self-restraint

If it is true that the Hindu personality type is narcissistic, the self-restraint which is so obvious a feature of Hindu behaviour is not self-punishment for the guilt of desiring to attack the father. In the view of this book, the original impulse to the trend towards self-restraint and self-isolation comes from the narcissistic cathexis upon the semen. The dislike of the loss of semen is shown in all the expositions of yoga and all the literature on health. It appears in mythology and folk-stories in the form of the miraculous power ascribed to chastity, in the fear of the loss of the external soul, and in the fear of intercourse, in particular with persons who are not of the right caste. The fear of the loss of semen is an important factor in the Hindu psyche even at the conscious level. Carstairs found it in the Rajasthan villagers he studied.⁵ Abbott noticed it in the villagers of Western India. When a man and his wife are performing a sacrifice, he said, they must observe continence. "The stringent injunction of continence is more than an insistence on ritual purity, and it is impossible to separate it from the rules which forbid such destructive acts as the cutting of hair and nails, sweeping, washing, throwing water away, grinding or roasting grain, shaving, and the destruction of the life of animal or plant." "...in the sex act soul or life is transmitted or even destroyed. The sex act is an act of himsa (violence); it destroys sakti (life, soul, power) ... In order to get sakti the organs of procreation

⁵ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, p. 84.

of horses, asses, and sparrows are often eaten.”⁶ There need be no doubt, then, of the reality of the semen complex.

Self-abnegation, springing from a different origin, takes different forms from those to be observed in the punitive. Punitives show the positive Oedipus complex. They may identify with the father, but they also hate him, wish to castrate and kill him, and fear castration by him. The super-ego, the introjected father, may punish them with unconscious fear of castration; they seldom wish for castration. Narcissists abjure rivalry with the father, and so in unconscious fantasy castrate themselves and adopt the passive homosexual attitude towards him. This is equivalent to identification with the mother, which they desire. Narcissists therefore show the unconscious desire for castration.

If, then, Hindu asceticism and self-abnegation are to be attributed to unconscious guilt, other manifestations of the positive Oedipus complex would be expected, for example in literature and mythology. If, on the other hand, asceticism and self-abnegation are due to self-abasement before the father and identification with the mother, indications only of the negative Oedipus complex would be expected. A survey of the ancient literature shows in the earlier phases indications of the positive Oedipus complex, but in later ages these vanish almost entirely, and only the negative Oedipus complex is manifested. (See chapter on Mythology.)

A survey of Hindu self-abnegation shows similar results. It seldom partakes of the nature of self-punishment. It does, however, show the three main features of the relation of the son to his parents in the narcissistic culture: the passive homosexual attitude to the father, self-castration in order to avoid conflict with the father and obtain his favour, and identification with the mother through self-castration and entry into the womb.

Suicide

The practice of impaling suggests the passive homosexual attitude to the father. It is mentioned more than once in

⁶ Abbott, *Keys of Power*. I regret that I cannot check the reference. I read only a few pages of this book, long ago.

the *Mahabharata*, and it remained a common method of execution down to the end of the eighteenth century. Jumping from above on to a sharp stake or spear was a common method of committing suicide: this even more clearly suggests passive homosexuality. In cases of suicide when other methods were adopted the circumstances sometimes suggest this attitude.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar collected a number of instances from South Indian inscriptions. In A.D. 1123 the cowherd Deki Nayaka made a vow saying, "If the king obtain a son, I will give my head to swing on the pole for the God of Khondasabhavi."⁷ "His wealth and his life Kuvvara Lakshma devoted for the gifts and victories of Vira Bellala Deva (A.D. 1173-1220) and conquered the world for him...Lakshma, together with his wife, mounted upon the splendid stone pillar, proclaiming his devotion to his master; and on the pillar they became united with Lakshmi and with Garuda.' The inscription is left incomplete, but the sculptures on the pillar, being all figures of men with swords, cutting off their own arms and legs, and even their heads, indicate unmistakably what had been done...acts of such wholesale immolation are on record on the occasion of the death of each of the warlike successors of Vira Bellala."⁸ In both instances, the subject's loyalty to the king is emphasised. In none of the eight instances quoted by Krishnaswami Aiyangar is there anything to suggest self-punishment.

In some instances the hero throws himself into a fire. Psycho-analytical writers say that flames often represent the male organ. A man burning himself to death, then, may also express the passive homosexual attitude. "Two inscriptions found in the Akalgud Taluk in the Hassan District record instances of friends having thrown themselves into the fire out of sorrow for their late masters, the Ganga kings Nitimarga and Satya Vakya."⁹ Writing of the same period, Hayavadana Rao mentions that a follower of Nitimarga I (d. A.D. 869) had himself buried under the king's corpse, and that devoted men committed themselves to the fire on the death

⁷ Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 388.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

of Nitimarga's son Rajamalla II (A.D. 907). Kuvvara Lakshma wore a special anklet to indicate his loyalty to the king, and his wife wore a similar anklet to indicate her loyalty to him.¹⁰ The parallel is significant. These suicides by devoted followers at the king's death are recorded under three dynasties of Karnataka, the Ganga, Chalukya, and Hoysala. In the latter part of this period there was a regular order of men of this kind, called Garudas. Garuda, an important mythological figure, is a bird of prey, a kite or eagle, but is also the obedient mount or vehicle of Vishnu. These men were inducted into the order by taking food from the king's hand, and they wore special insignia and were treated with deference. They were expected to wound themselves if the king was wounded, to contract an illness if he fell ill, and to commit suicide when he died. Professor Mugali says that similar instances are recorded from Kashmir and Malabar.¹¹

Crooke says: "There are many cases of men sacrificing themselves after the death of a beloved lord and master. When the great Raja Harsha of Kanauj died, his servants, friends, and ministers threw themselves over precipices. An old Arab writer records of an Indian king that his bodyguards, who had eaten rice ceremoniously when he ascended the throne, had to burn themselves on the day of his death. The subjects of Tamil and Nair kings would devote themselves to death with their lords. The *Katha Sarit Sagana* has a story of a commander-in-chief who committed suicide upon the death of the king."¹²

The last reference is no doubt to the story in ch. 91. In fact, that book contains several stories in the same vein. A Rajput decides to cut off his own head before Durga in order to ensure the king's happiness (ch. 6). A retainer sacrifices his son, his wife, and himself to Durga in order to save the king's life (ch. 53). A man with royal marks throws himself into the sea from a ship; the ship-owner decides to follow him (ch. 86). Four ministers, separated from the prince by a curse, decide to commit suicide (ch. 101). Three ministers

¹⁰ Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, pp. 656, 659, 1374.

¹¹ Mugali, *Heritage of Karnataka*, pp. 76-78.

¹² Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, pp. 156-57.

of another prince in similar circumstances take the same decision (ch. 108).

In its description of the great city of Puhar, the *Silappadikaram* includes a scene in which "...valiant warriors...vied with one another in going first to the great altar to make the asseveration, 'May all evil to our mighty king be warded off, and may you (the Butam) stand firm on the side of those who propitiate you with offerings!'...soldiers cut off their dark-haired heads...with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious."¹³ (The Butam was the spirit which guarded the city on behalf of Indra.)

Crooke mentions seven places where it was customary to commit suicide by jumping from a high rock. At one of these the offering was to the Mother Goddess; at four of them to Shiva.¹⁴ Udayana, the hero of the early part of the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ends his life by throwing himself from a precipice, with his wives and ministers (ch. 109). Crooke also mentions the custom of suicide by throwing oneself into the Ganges from the undying banyan tree at Allahabad.¹⁵ He refers to other means of committing suicide—in particular, allowing oneself to be frozen to death in the Himalaya, which he says is still commonly practised. This is an offering either to Shiva or to the Mother Goddess. In some cases men performed these acts of suicide in pursuance of a vow taken by their mother in order to get a son. In another place, "a devotee who had broken his vows, a parricide, or one who had committed incest" became sinless through committing suicide. Madhavacharya said that a man suffering from an incurable disease could commit suicide by fire, starvation, drowning, falling from a precipice, freezing in the Himalaya, or throwing himself from the banyan tree at Allahabad, and he would go to higher regions and would not count as a suicide.

Suicide on separation from a master points to the passive homosexual attitude. Sacrificing the head to Durga suggests self-castration in order to identify with the mother. The two ideas are closely connected. Suicide by drowning, and suicide in pursuance of a vow taken by one's mother, probably signify

¹³ *Silappadikaram*, V. 76-88.

¹⁴ Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

the desire to identify with her—drowning is re-entering the womb. Suicide because one has broken one's vows, killed one's father, or committed incest is no doubt prompted by guilt feeling, but it is clear that in most of the instances cited guilt has no part.

Sati

The widow who burnt on her husband's funeral pyre did what, on this view, her sons would unconsciously have wished to do. Probably in most instances the sati had adult sons, whose attitude would have been important in deciding whether she should perform the rite. Manu (V.148; IX.3) says that the widow must remain under the control of her son, just as the daughter is under the control of her father, and the wife under that of her husband. Mugali remarks on the similarity between male self-immolation and sati.¹⁶ Doubtless other motives were usually present, but it seems possible that the passive homosexual attitude of the son to the father, and of the subordinate to the chief, played some part in the origin and continuance of sati. Crooke says that the widow who had burned on her husband's funeral pyre was identified with "the whole group of sainted dead, men and women..." This is shown by "the representation of the chthonic snake on her memorials, rising out of the masonry to receive the adoration of the descendants and typefying the ancestral spirits."¹⁷ This observation bears out the analysis suggested here, that an important factor in sati was the attitude of the widow's son towards his ancestors, i.e. his father.

The guru cult

The same attitude shows itself in the guru cult, the very marked devotion to the teacher, especially but not exclusively the spiritual teacher. The unconscious attitude of passive homosexuality is compatible with conscious love, but normally positive love for the father is inhibited by constraints of a more superficial type, or modified to a somewhat distant respect. In relations with the guru, however, these constraints are ab-

¹⁶ Mugali, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁷ Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, p. 157.

sent, and the love for the guru often approximates to the ideal son-father relation. The warm attachment of shishya to guru, and often of guru to shishya, has been conspicuous from early times and is still common. Most modern educational reformers sigh for the return of the system. It is especially valuable for moral education: the image of the guru, introjected, greatly strengthens the ego-ideal. It is probable that in former times many pupils achieved complete identification with the guru, and in that case the system promoted projective extroversion.

The *Svetasvatara Upanishad* speaks of "the highest devotion for God, and for his spiritual teacher as for God" (VI.23). The *Yogasikha Upanishad* says that the Guru is Brahma, Vishnu and Achyuta, that the Guru and Isa (Shiva) are one; that one should worship him, and experience spiritual identity with him.¹⁸ Manikkavachakar says: "God will appear before the devotee in the form of his guru."¹⁹ Jnaneswar addresses his guru: "Thou art a mother to the seeker; wisdom springs up in thy footsteps."²⁰ During the initiation of the medical pupil, the master led him three times round the fire-altar, just as the bridegroom leads the bride round the fire in the marriage ceremony, and the pupil assumed "the attitude of utter obedience and faithfulness to which the Hindu wife is pledged."²¹

Corresponding to this exaltation of the guru, violation of his bed by the pupil was one of the gravest crimes, punished according to Manu by death inflicted in one of three alternative ways, all of which illustrate Freud's "talion" principle. The guilty pupil had to lie upon a red-hot iron bed, or to embrace a red-hot iron image of a woman, or to castrate himself and run, carrying the severed parts in his hands, in the south-westerly direction until he fell dead.²² Evidently it was regarded as equivalent to incest with the mother.

"The devotees of the Gurus worship them even as a deity is worshipped in a temple. Flowers are offered to them, incense is burned before them, arati is shown to them, their

¹⁸ Gajendragadkar, *Neo-Upanishadic Philosophy*, p. 143.

¹⁹ Narayana Aiyar, *Origin*, p. 436.

²⁰ Cf. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 121.

²¹ Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, p. 19.

²² *Manusmriti*, XI.103, 104.

feet are washed, and the water with which the feet are washed is reverentially sipped as tirtha..."²³ This refers only to a minority, though Bhattacharya says that such observances are "common enough." He has three chapters on what he calls "guru-worshipping sects," and enumerates eight.²⁴ Thurston says that the Lingayats regard the Jangam (priest) as an incarnation of the deity; the water in which his feet have been washed is holy, and people bathe their lingams in it and drink it.²⁵

The attitude of passive homosexuality towards the father, relatively undisturbed by the opposite feeling which is normally present in the punitive, shows itself in literary, artistic, and philosophical conservatism. In the West, styles, tastes, and beliefs in these matters are subject to marked and rapid fluctuations. Eminent writers and thinkers normally suffer a fall in public esteem a generation after their main work is done, and then are often rehabilitated a generation later still. This is evidently due to the repudiation by the son of all that is associated with the father. Nothing comparable is to be noticed in India.

The same constancy of feeling is characteristic of Indian public life. Hindus are abnormally tolerant of their rulers, whether hereditary monarchs, indigenous upstarts, foreign conquerors, or the popular leaders of the present day. A leader once established seems sure of continued favour for his lifetime. Occidentals and Muslims are more changeable in their attitude to leaders: the latent hostility to the father is always apt to come to the surface. Dharendra Narain has an illuminating passage in which he defends the Hindu habit of "bending before the storm," as contrasted with the occidental attitude of foolhardy resistance.²⁶ The relative values of these attitudes are not the present concern; his exposition is interesting as an illustration of the fact. However, Indian history, which is a probably unique record of tolerance of foreign conquest, is sufficient proof.

²³ G. L. Chandavarkar in *The Indian Messenger* (Calcutta, 7 July 1961).

²⁴ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes*, pp. 397, 485-94.

²⁵ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV.280.

²⁶ Dharendra Narain, *Hindu Character*, p. 66.

Dharna

The passive homosexual attitude may involve not only submission but self-castration. One of Krishnaswami Aiyangar's examples suggests this. "A certain Tuluva, Chandiya, took a vow 'not to let his finger-nails grow,' if the Banavase fort should be disposed of in a manner he did not approve of. It so happened that Ballavarasa and Satyasraya Deva jointly made a grant of the fort...Chandiya, 'cutting off the finger which he had given at the Permalu temple and climbing the Bherundesvara Pillar leaped upon the point of a spear and gained the world of gods.'"²⁷ The amputation of the finger suggests self-castration. The conscious attitude is not one of complete devotion or loyalty, as in Krishnaswami Aiyangar's other cases, but a kind of loyal opposition. Self-castration is an act of submission to the father, but is presumably done with some unwillingness.

A literary illustration of this half-unwilling submission occurs in the *Brihatkatha*. Mahasena or Pradyota, king of Ujjayini, had been righteous but went mad and committed terrible atrocities. Eventually he died, and his son Gopala succeeded. Going round the town at night, Gopala overheard three different people remark to others that the king had killed his father. Profoundly distressed, he asked his ministers, who explained that they had spread this rumour in order to turn the people's hatred against Pradyota and make them love Gopala. But he could not endure the disgrace; he gave up the throne and retired to the forest.²⁸ Though the accusation was false, he had to punish himself by symbolic self-castration.

A slightly different type of half-unwilling self-castration occurs in myths about Shiva. Shiva was to have created the human race, and proceeded to perform tapas, but Brahma became tired of waiting and gave the task to somebody else; on hearing of this, Shiva in exasperation cut off his sex organ and buried it in the ground.²⁹ The legend of origin of the Viramushti caste says that on learning of the suicide of his wife Sati, Shiva dashed his sex-organ against the ground, and

²⁷ Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 387-88.

²⁸ *Brihatkatha*, I, 5-62.

²⁹ *MBh.*, Sautpika P., XVI, 10-16.

from it created Virabhadra, from whose perspiration the Viramushti sprang.³⁰ The legend is related in Goa that Shiva and Parvati were playing a game called Saripat; Parvati won, and Shiva's chagrin was so great that he went into a forest and did penance.³¹

The man who "sits in dharna" deliberately inflicts pain upon himself. It was a well-established method of taking revenge, or of compelling a debtor to pay. One sat at the man's doorstep, fasting, until he yielded or one starved to death. In the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, at least, it was used to compel a reluctant party to agree to a marriage (ch. 52). It is seldom heard nowadays in private quarrels, but it is in frequent use as the political fast.

To illustrate an argument, Rama told Lakshmana the story of Yayati. Sarmishtha and her son Puru were Yayati's favourites, he said, while Devayani, the legitimate wife, and her son Yadu were ignored. Yadu said to his mother: "To be thus neglected is intolerable: let us enter the fire. If you are not ready to do so, I will do so alone." At the conscious level, the sufferer inflicts further suffering upon himself in order to wring the bosom of the oppressor, to appeal to his conscience, or to cause him shame. His unconscious aim, however, in hurting himself is that he may feel still more pity for himself. Pity is one of the forms taken by the libido. Dharna is therefore congenial to the narcissistic psyche, a conscious version of unconscious fantasies of self-castration.

Rama proceeded with the story. Devayani called her father, who cursed Yayati to impotence. Yayati evaded the sentence for some time, but eventually submitted to it, and then went to heaven. Rama concluded: "Thus Yayati endured Shukra's curse, in accordance with the traditions of the Kshatriyas. Let us follow the example of those who accept all."³² Rama thus purges self-castration of all trace of retaliation against the father. In this form it coincides with satyagraha as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi. Satyagraha, however, is not new. There are old stories showing the same attitude. Normally it is a

³⁰ Siraj al Hassan, *Castes of Nizam's Dominions*, I.641.

³¹ Saldanna, *Indian Caste*, I.63.

³² *Ramayana*, VII. 58-59.

response to an insult or slight, which is for the true narcissist the worst form of injury.

Crooke gives several instances of actual or legendary suicides who are worshipped. Most of these suffered injury and died in anger, cursing the wrong-doer. Harsu Panre, a raja's family priest, was deposed and deprived of his land; he starved to death at the palace gate. A raja abducted Ratan Panre's daughter; he starved to death, cursing the raja. A raja seduced a Brahman girl; she burned herself to death, cursing his family. A raja fell in love with a Brahman's daughter; the Brahman dug a fire-pit, threw her into it, and then apparently killed himself. These instances are from Bengal, Gonda, Ghazipur, and Marwar.²³

Thurston describes a custom according to which an insult was accepted as equivalent to death, and then likened to a pregnancy, to be resolved only by the shedding of blood. It prevailed among the Lingayats, who regarded their lingam as so precious that one who lost it had to die. The lingam may be equated with the external soul: to swallow one's lingam is evidently to castrate oneself. Thurston says that in former days, when a Lingayat was insulted he would swallow his lingam and lie on the ground in front of the offender's house. The offender had to bring together some priests, a Viramushti, and a pregnant Viramushti woman. She would sit down before the man, and the Viramushti would cut his own scalp and chest and sprinkle the man with his blood. The man would then rise, and the lingam would come from his mouth. The offender had to pay the Viramushti and the priests, and feed a number of people.²⁴

There is an inscription on the Madurai temple recording that in the reign of Chokkanatha Nayaka (seventeenth century) officials levied an unauthorised tax on the land which the temple servants had hitherto held rent free. The temple servants decided to commit suicide, and one of them did so by throwing himself from a tower.²⁵

Whitehead relates a tradition from Warangal, Andhra, of

²³ Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, pp. 158-59.

²⁴ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VII. 410.

²⁵ Jagadisha Ayyar, *South Indian Shrines*, p. 485.

some manual workers who worked for a king on promise of payment; when the work was over he offered them less than he had promised, so they all cut their throats in his presence. There are many stone reliefs depicting this incident, and the men are still worshipped.³⁶ Whitehead remarks that it is a typically Indian way of taking revenge, and he has often heard of similar actions. Elmore records the tradition of an untouchable army who felt that they had been insulted because of their low caste and committed mass suicide.³⁷ Thurston tells several stories in the same vein.³⁸ Nanjundayya refers to the Charans of Rajasthan, who were employed as carriers of valuables: they were protected by their custom of killing themselves when attacked, thus threatening their assailants with the dreaded fate of being haunted by their ghosts.³⁹

It will be noticed that in not one of the instances of self-castration or suicide under this head does the legend give any indication of guilt. Dharna and the many similar practices described are in no sense self-punishment.

Identification with the mother

In all these instances of self-inflicted suffering, the attitude is one of protest. In some ascetic practices, however, while suffering may be inflicted in such a way as to suggest self-castration, there is no trace of protest. The late Girindrasekhar Bose said in reference to his Indian patients that castration fear is secondary and that underlying it is the castration wish, the desire to play the female role, traceable to identification with the mother.⁴⁰

In many of the ancient stories the object attained by means of tapasya was offspring, born by the man without the participation of a woman. In some cases the event is related as a creation myth; in some the man is described as human. Its significance can only be self-castration in order to identify with the mother.

³⁶ Whitehead, *Village Gods*, p. 124.

³⁷ Elmore, *Dravidian Gods*, pp. 110-11.

³⁸ Thurston, *op. cit.*, II. 93; III. 315-19.

³⁹ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, II. 142.

⁴⁰ *qu.* by R. Haldar, "The Oedipus Wish in Iconography," *Ind. J. of Psychology* (1938).

Self
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The creation myth occurs in the *Rigveda*, in the Tenth Mandala, which is the latest part. "There was no death and no life, no distinction of day and night. That One breathed calmly, self-dependent. There was nothing different from it or above it... That germ which lay wrapped in a husk was born as the One by the power of its own tapas."⁴¹ There are several versions in the *Sathapatha Brahmana*. "In the beginning this universe was water. The waters desired: 'How can we be reproduced?' They performed tapas. While they performed tapas, a golden egg came into existence."⁴² "Desiring offspring, Prajapati performed tapas. He conceived progeny in himself. With his mouth he created the gods."⁴³ Left alone after the flood, Manu desired offspring. He therefore threw ghee, milk, whey, and curds as an oblation into the waters. A year later a woman was produced, who declared that she was Manu's daughter.⁴⁴ The symbolism may be noticed: Carstairs says that in modern India milk and its products stand for semen, while water is a generally used symbol for the womb.

King Jahnu of the line of Pururavas "united the spirit of sacrifice with himself and by the power of his devotion drank up the river Ganga. Thereupon the celestials and the sages pleased him and got back Ganga in the form of his daughter." A few generations later in the same dynasty, Kusambha performed tapas in order to get a son equal to Indra. Indra himself took birth as his son Gadhi.⁴⁵ In the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, Shiva is described as producing the world-egg by an act which closely resembles self-castration. "At the end of a Kalpa (age) the universe became water: I then cleft my thigh and let fall a drop of blood; that drop falling into the water turned into an egg; from that sprang the Supreme Soul..."⁴⁶

The *Chhandogya Upanishad* says: "That which is called yajna (sacrifice) is brahmacharya (continence)... That which is called ishta (adored) is brahmacharya... That which is called satrayana (feeding the poor, etc.) is brahmacharya. By brahmacharya one serves oneself. That which is called mauna

⁴¹ *Rigveda*, X. 129.2-3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XI.1.6.7.

⁴³ *Vishnu P.*, IV, VII.

⁴⁴ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, 2.

⁴⁵ *Sathapatha Br.* XI.1.6.1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I.8.1.7.

(silence) is brahmacharya. Through brahmacharya is the soul known and meditated upon. That which is called anasakayanam (fasting) is brahmacharya. That soul is not destroyed which is known through brahmacharya. That which is called aranyayana (retirement to the forest) is brahmacharya. Ara means an ocean, and nya means an ocean; these two oceans exist in the region of Brahma. In the third heaven there are a tank full of rice-water, a tree which exudes ambrosia, and a place of gold built by Brahma and named aparajita (unattainable except through brahmacharya). This region is reserved for those who know through brahmacharya the two oceans ara and nya. Their desires are fulfilled in all regions."⁴¹ Here sexual self-denial is declared to be identical with all other forms of self-denial and piety. This confirms the psycho-analytic view that self-castration is the archetype of all ascetic practices. But our concern in the present context is the imagery: the oceans, the tank of liquid food, the ambrosia, and the place of gold attainable only by self-castration, all indicate the return to the womb. ("Place" may be a misprint for "palace"; both Hume and Radhakrishnan have "hall.")

Hindu asceticism generally seems to be inspired by the unconscious identification with the mother. This accounts for the difference in the attitude and style of asceticism as between India and Europe. Punitives desire to punish themselves for sin, real or imagined, by inflicting upon themselves deprivation or pain. But when they do so, it provokes counter-aggression and unconscious hostility to the ego-ideal, which was originally imposed by the father. Deprivation is also opposed to the punitive's basic drive towards outward attachments. Thus from both sources the attempt of the punitive to practise asceticism meets internal resistance, and accordingly it is achieved with difficulty and as a result of continued struggle with the self.

The narcissist's asceticism is not self-punishment but the fulfilment of an unconscious desire to attain identification with the mother by a return to the womb. It is therefore subject to less resistance than that of the punitive. It strikes the European observer that the Hindu ascetic is doing some-

⁴¹ *Chhandogya Up.*, VIII.5.1-4. Tr. by Rajendralal Mitra.

thing which is natural to him and needs little effort. Riencourt makes a similar remark about mystics. "Western mystics... display more aggressive strength than their Indian counterparts—Ruysbroeck's famous Combat, in which man's spirit and God grapple violently, Meister Eckhart's classification of the three highest forces of the soul: knowledge, the violent aspiration towards the Most High, and the will. The Western mystic is more dynamic, strives with greater virility."⁴⁸

Ramakrishna was conspicuously one of those to whom asceticism is natural and effortless. His principal object of devotion was the Mother, and one of his chief teachers was a woman. Correspondingly, asceticism is more common than in Europe, and is carried further. Monier Williams said, "European Christians who, with a view of increasing their influence, endeavour to set an example of self-mortification, find themselves quite outdone and left hopelessly in the rear by a thousand devotees in every sacred city of India."⁴⁹

Sanyas

The ancient customs of vanaprastha and sanyas, retirement and asceticism towards the end of life, which are still much admired and occasionally practised, have been interpreted as an expression of guilt. The ancient sources appear to give no support to this view. The *Manusmṛiti* in its injunctions on the subject says nothing about repentance or expiation. Before entering upon sanyas, the final stage, a man must have paid the three debts, to the Gods, the Rishis and the Fathers; but he pays them by studying the Veda, performing certain sacrifices, and begetting sons.⁵⁰ These debts convey no sense of guilt. For the rest, he is urged to cultivate detachment. It is reasonable to interpret the asceticism involved in vanaprastha and sanyas as an unconscious fantasy of identification with the mother through self-castration.

Satyagraha

The resemblance between dharna and satyagraha has been

⁴⁸ Riencourt, *Soul of India*, p. 127.

⁴⁹ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 427.

⁵⁰ *Manusmṛiti*, VI.35-37.

pointed out above. Probably many people have offered satyagraha in the same frame of mind as the man who sits in dharna: one of venting their wrath upon the wrong-doer and giving themselves pain so that they may pity themselves. But if they did so, they disobeyed Mahatma Gandhi's instructions. He tried to keep satyagraha entirely free from the aggressive feeling towards the opponent and the pitying attitude to the self.

The satyagrahi who is faithful to Gandhi's principles must be sure of the moral rightness of his case. His protest must be limited to the matter in hand. He must try persuasion first; he must offer terms of settlement and always be prepared to discuss them. He must behave humbly, treat his opponent politely, help him in other matters if conscience permits, and aim always at converting and making a friend of him. If it comes to a clash, he must refrain from inflicting any injury, and must invite suffering upon himself. It is hardly too much to call this procedure seduction. The satyagrahi behaves like a deserted wife trying to win back her erring husband. Gandhi often said that satyagraha began in the domestic circle, and that women were specially suited to it. Nehru and others have said that they sense something effeminate in it.

The infliction of injury upon oneself is fairly common, but commoner is sympathy with one who does so. In the 1920's a nationalist song was composed which attained very wide popularity in northern India. It begins thus:

Today there is in my heart a desire to sacrifice my head.
It is to be seen how much strength is in the executioner's arm.
Today in the slaughter-house that butcher says again and again,
"In somebody's heart there is a desire for martyrdom."

The composer was at the time in jail on a charge of dacoity (gang robbery) and murder, and it is possible that he was influenced by guilt. But millions have sung the song as an expression of nationalist feeling, with which they presumably have no guilty associations. They were thrilled by the idea of sacrificing one's head, symbolically castrating oneself, for Mother India.

The Westerner and the Hindu preserve conspicuously different attitudes towards sacrifice. To the Westerner it may be heroic, but it is almost always unwelcome, and is justified only if it is necessary for some greater purpose. Hindus seem to feel that it is justified in itself, and their attitude towards it is almost invariably approving. Sacrifice and renunciation are among the most emotive words in the Hindu vocabulary. I still remember the response to the news in 1940 that the French navy had sunk most of their own ships in order to prevent the Germans from using them. No event of the war excited more sympathy. It is entirely fitting that the Hindu war deity is a goddess. The emphasis is not so much on fighting the enemy as on offering oneself as a sacrifice to the Goddess or the Motherland.

Even if the sacrifice is not voluntary, if it is innocent or relatively so, the subject may identify with the sufferer and experience the exaltation of self-sacrifice. Hence the popularity of pathos in literature. This is noticeable in the classics, as in the account of Sita's sufferings in Lanka, or in the story of Harishchandra. It is not so prominent in the *Mahabharata*, but among modern readers apparently one of the most popular episodes is the persecution of Draupadi by the Kauravas, which was recently made the subject of a film. Equally heart-rending and, therefore, popular is the story of Ekalavya, a champion archer from a primitive tribe, who in order to disable himself from defeating Arjuna, cut off his own thumb; the late T. P. Kailasam made this the subject of a stage-play. Pathos is conspicuous in recent literature generally. The poems of Sarojini Naidu are full of it. The popular novelists Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Prem Chand indulge in it freely. It merges with the political themes of the left wing, and of the Gandhian school, and no doubt helps to explain their popularity. The cult of the pathetic must strike any non-Indian reader of modern Indian literary work.

Pathos appears in an interesting disguise in some of the old stories in which the atmosphere is quite different. The hero falls in love with a painting, or occasionally a statue, of the heroine; and, in one or two instances, *vice versa*. The appeal of this situation is that the reader can share his love

for her, and together with it the pathos, the narcissistic self-pity, due to her absence. The theme may occur in other cultures, but I am sure it is far more prevalent in Indian literature than elsewhere.⁵¹ The situation of King Udayana in Bhasa's *Swapnavasavadatta*, where he believes her to be dead and when he sees her is persuaded that it was only a dream, is such as to arouse a similar combination of emotions.

That the narcissistic type should be more strongly inclined to self-sacrifice than the punitive may seem paradoxical, but it is not really very mysterious. However, the source of the impulse to self-sacrifice is different from that in the punitive; and because of this I have not used the familiar term masochism. Masochism is normally associated with guilt, and with erotic feeling. The facts set forth in this chapter show clearly that Hindu self-abnegation is not due to unconscious guilt and the consequent direction of aggression against the self, and these manifestations in general have no erotic component. The narcissistic ego-ideal urges the subject towards ever greater libidinal cathexis upon the ego, and therefore to the renunciation of external objects of desire, i.e. towards ever greater sacrifice. Mythology and observable conduct suggest that the infantile attitudes which underlie this trend are the passive homosexual attitude to the father, and self-castration as a means of identification with the mother.

The restraint which is a pervasive character of the behaviour of Hindus and is considered in this chapter resembles the restraint on the public expression of emotion in relation to spouses, etc. (see chapter on the Mother Fixation), but contrasts with the weakness of restraint shown in the ordinary reactions of daily life noted by Professor P. S. Naidu (see chapter on the Narcissistic Personality), shown in unpremeditated violence (see chapter on Philosophy and Ethics), and shown in situations of deprivation, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It should be noticed that these contrasted facts are consistent with the theory. These instances of weakness of restraint occur mainly among the

⁵¹ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, chs. 71, 101; *Brihatkatha*, XIX (see Van Buitenen's *Tales of Ancient India*, p. 158); *The Ten Princes*, pp. 90, 138; *Stories of King Madana Kama*, p. 16; *Stories of Vikramaditya*, p. 86; *Best Short Stories*, I.223; and no doubt other instances.

young and the uneducated, i.e. narcissistic personalities of less highly developed types. In such a psyche, much libido is still directed outwards, while there is little inward-directed aggressiveness, and, therefore, little check on this outward-turned libido. With advancing aged or increasing self-cultivation, more libido is cathected on the ego; correspondingly, the psyche is less liable to such unrestrained reactions and is less easily provoked to violence. The restraint on the external expression of the libido or of aggressiveness is of course greatly aided by the presence of an equivalent to the father.

Chapter 5

TAPASYA AND YOGA

IT IS MAINTAINED in the previous chapter that Hindu self-abnegation is inspired by the attitudes typical of the narcissistic personality, viz. identification with the mother and the passive homosexual attitude to the father. If that is so, it is necessary to account for the energy which is often devoted to this trend. This chapter argues that the ego-oriented drive draws its energy from the narcissistic attachment to the semen, and from the more familiar ego-motives: pride in establishing the control of the ego over the id and the aspiration towards the supremacy of the ego-ideal.

Tapasya

Judging from general probabilities, tapasya is earlier than yoga. Tapasya consists in inflicting pain and deprivation on oneself in order to obtain a boon from a God. The feeling is that of the son who castrates himself to remove all possibility of sexual rivalry with his father, to proclaim his submissiveness. The boon might be any desired object, but normally it was power. Eventually, the achievement of power in this way ceased to depend on the will of a God and became automatic. Power was then felt to reside not in the favour of the father but in the chaste and therefore permanently erect phallus. In Hindu myth and folklore supernatural weapons are almost always obtained by tapas, and may be equated with the permanent phallus. But some of the consequences of the original dependence on the father remained: sexuality and anger, both of which in the unconscious are acts of aggression against the father, could still destroy the power obtained by tapasya.

The best known legend on the subject is that of Viswamitra.

He was a king, a Kshatriya, who was defeated in a contest by the Brahman Vashishtha. He admitted the superiority of the Brahmanical power and resolved to acquire it. He performed tapas for a thousand years; then the Gods became alarmed and sent the Apsaras Menaka, who seduced him. By this fall all his progress was neutralised, and he had to begin again. When he had completed another thousand years of tapas, the Gods offered to acknowledge his spiritual eminence, but he stood out for the status of a Brahmin. He performed tapas for another thousand years; then Indra sent the Apsaras Rambha. This time Viswamitra saw through the plan, but he gave way to anger and cursed her to be a pillar of stone. Anger is also rebellion against the father, and he had to do tapas for yet another thousand years. At the end he was about to break his fast when Indra, disguised as a Brahmin, came to beg from him. But he passed this test: he gave away his meal. The Gods now admitted that he had won and made him a Brahman.¹

His tapas is described. In addition to the conventional lying in a river in winter and standing surrounded by four fires (five, including the sun) in summer, he stood on one foot, with his arms upraised, as still as a wooden pillar,² and his body became as dry as a log of wood.³ These images suggest the permanent phallus. For the last thousand years he fasted and observed complete silence; since in the unconscious the mouth is identified with the sex organ, this reinforces the image of the chaste phallus. Similarly Arjuna and Dhruva performed tapas by standing on the tips of their toes.⁴ Ravana did so by standing on one leg for a thousand years.⁵ Here the significance is the same. It is clear from the folk stories (see the chapters on Caste and Village Goddesses) that being turned into a pillar of stone symbolises the loss of semen, in the specially fatal form in which this means the loss of the external soul. Here Viswamitra inflicts upon Rambha the fate which she had intended for him.

¹ *Ramayana*, I. 56, 57, 62-65.

² *Ibid.*, I. 63.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 65.

⁴ *MBh.* Vana P., XXXVIII. 26; *Vishnu P.* I. XII.

⁵ *MBh.* Vana P. CCLXXIV. 16.

The *Katha Sarit Sagara* (ch. 70) contains a story of an ascetic who tried to obtain a magic sword which was in the possession of the snake king. He performed enchantments with mustard seeds and overcame many obstacles. Finally there appeared a heavenly nymph, who "pierced his soul with a sidelong glance of love...the ascetic lost his self-command and forgot his spells; and the shapely fair one, embracing him, flung from his hand the vessel of oblation." He died of a broken heart. The symbolism of the magic sword and the vessel of oblation snatched from him is different but equally plain.

The association between chastity and power also extends to women. In fact it became proverbial. "Is there anything greater than a woman, if only she is a citadel of chastity? Verily at her bidding it rains" (*Kural*, 6.54, 55). However, here chastity came to mean primarily devotion to the husband. There are innumerable legends on this theme, which lends itself to humour as well as edification. A king's magic elephant was injured. He fasted and prayed for a cure, without success, and eventually resolved to cut off his own head. He was prevented by a voice from heaven, which announced that the touch of a chaste woman's hand would effect the cure. He made his wives and all the women of the city touch it, but the injury remained unhealed.⁶

Perhaps the most interesting story on this subject is that of the *Silappadikaram*, since here the heroine performs an action reminiscent of self-castration. When her husband had been wrongfully condemned for theft and executed, Kannaki went before the king and proved that he was innocent. The king fell dead. She then went before the queen and told her of the feats of seven chaste women of her home town, Puhar. Of these feats, two imply superior virtue and the other five imply magic power. She then left the palace and cried out, "I curse the capital of him who did wrong to my beloved husband. I am not to blame." "Then she twisted off her left breast with her hand, and going round the city of Madura thrice making this vow, in deep anguish, she threw that beautiful breast whirling into the fragrant street." The God

⁶ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 36.

of Fire appeared, asked whom he was to spare, and burnt the rest with the city.⁷

Yoga

Pain and deprivation, like sickness, divert the libido inward towards the ego; they therefore accentuate the narcissistic trend. It was perhaps a natural evolution from tapasya to yoga, in which, though the emphasis is no longer on suffering, the self-restraint is severe, and the effort is to make the introversion of libido as complete as possible, to renounce all external objects of desire, for the sake of self-cultivation. But as regards the aim, the two differ. In nearly all cases tapasya is performed to gain some external object, whereas all the authorities proclaim that yoga should be practised only for a spiritual, internal purpose. However, yoga is sometimes intended to gain a worldly object, usually power.

The first chapter of Patanjali's *Yoga Sutras* explains that yoga consists in preventing the mind from being affected by external things; when thus free from outside influences, the mind is in its normal state. External effects are prevented by exercise and non-attachment. Non-attachment is the overcoming of desire. Carried to its utmost limit, non-attachment is indifference even to the three gunas, and this arises from knowledge of the self. (Yoga adopts the Samkhya philosophy, according to which the gunas, like the mind, are material, and therefore different from the self, which is pure consciousness.) Control of the mind is helped by the regulation of breathing, or by fixing attention upon an object of sense or on internal or other kinds of objects. (*Yoga Sutras*, I.2-39.)

The second chapter lays down some preconditions for success. These include self-mortification, surrender to God, and the elimination of ignorance, egoism, desire, aversion, and clinging to life. Ignorance is attaching undue importance to the non-eternal, the impure, the painful, and the non-self. The cause of self-deception in these matters is the joining of the seer with what is seen. That is, the self must be dissociated from the mind, the mind, as a material object, being included in that which is seen. Such dissociation must

⁷ *Silappadikaram*, XX. 50-XXI. 57.

be practised. Yoga is pursued in eight successive steps. These are moral restraint (non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, continence, non-possession), purification (contentment, self-mortification, study, worship), postures, breathing exercises, withdrawal of attention from external objects, concentration of the mind, meditation, and sanyama. (II.1 to III.6.) Vivekananda says that sanyama means that the mind has passed beyond forms to meanings, or has identified itself with the internal impression of the object.⁸ But even this is still external, and there are further stages.

After the first two of the eight steps, moral restraint and purification, the aspirant acquires powers. "Non-violence being established, in his presence all enmities cease. By complete truthfulness he receives the result of action. When he abstains from theft, all jewels come to him. When he is completely continent, he gains strength. When he is non-covetous, he remembers his past lives." (II.35-39.) At this stage he acquires a distaste for the body, and isolation from others. (II.40.)

These, however, are only a small foretaste of the powers which are acquired after the eighth step, sanyama. Then he can know the past and the future, can understand all speech, including that of animals, remember his former lives, read others' thoughts, make his body invisible, foretell the time of his death, acquire all virtues, acquire the strength of an elephant, discern minute objects and remote objects, acquire a knowledge of geography, including that of paradise, astronomy, and his own anatomy, gain freedom from hunger and thirst, see and converse with supernatural beings, inhabit another's body, make himself immune to injury and able to die at will, make light shine from his body, hear all sounds, move anywhere at will, assume any size, make his body of any colour, beauty, strength and hardness, wield power over nature, and attain omniscience and omnipotence. (III.16-50.)

But he should give up these powers, and thus destroy the root of evil. By discriminating the successive moments of time, he acquires a general power of discrimination, which is the means to salvation. The mind becomes as pure as the

⁸ Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, pp. 237, 243.

self, and the self attains isolation. (III.51-56.) The fourth chapter discusses the distinction between mind and self, which when realised leads to isolation, the final stage.

Yoga doubtless involves more, but it is principally an attempt to achieve total narcissism. The restraints bring powers: the aspirant must ignore them. Other-regarding virtues develop, benevolence, tenderness (III.24): they are an obstacle to final isolation. This completely narcissistic condition is liberation or salvation, its own reward.

Though admittedly difficult, this development is regarded as only a continuation of man's natural course. Swami Akhilananda says, "Hindu psychologists do not agree with the view that man has a basic destructive tendency. Suicide, war (etc.) are not expressions of the normal mind." "Hindu psychologists advocate self-control. This is not repression, but is based on the use of higher values. When the spiritual nature of man is evolved in the form of love, unselfish service, sacrifice...his primitive urges drop off." This happens in a natural way, just as children grow. "The most outstanding urge in man is the search after the abiding spirit of God."⁹ This is a sound account of the narcissistic psyche, in which aggressiveness is normally not strong, and the urge to realise the ego-ideal may become dominant. An altruistic ego-ideal is not the most natural for a narcissist, but it is perfectly possible.

Despite Akhilananda's denial, however, yoga involves repression. The Sutras make it clear, and later teachers lay great stress on practice, breathing, postures, concentration, etc., which are means of repression, or initially of suppression. "From rhythmical breathing comes a tendency for all the molecules in the body to move in the same direction...the body has, as it were, become a gigantic battery of will. This tremendous will is exactly what the yogi wants."¹⁰ In the Kundalini yoga, the Kundalini is "forced" through the sushumna, where she "pierces" the chakras one after another, in some cases causing pain, all through the power of breathing exercises, "the pressure of the prana and apana held

⁹ Akhilananda, *Hindu Psychology*, pp. 7, 49-51.

¹⁰ Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, p. 60.

in kumbhaka."¹¹ Postures, concentration, controlled breathing and other muscular effort, especially rhythmic effort, are means of suppressing emotion which can be resorted to without thought. Freud describes a child in the cradle using this technique to control the fear caused by the departure of its mother.

As the aspirant progresses, suppression and repression diminish in importance. The technique also achieves sublimation. "Then you will learn what rest means," says Vivekananda. "...The first effect is the changed expression of one's face; harsh lines disappear; with calm thought calmness comes over the face." "The yogis claim that of all the energies that are in the human body the highest is what they call ojas...The more ojas is in a man's head, the more powerful he is, the more intellectual, the more spiritually strong...that part of the human energy which is expressed as sex energy, when checked and controlled, easily becomes changed into ojas."¹²

The technique of dissociation, the deliberate partial withdrawal of attention, permits harmless abreaction and aids sublimation. "Let the mind run on...Give it the rein: many hideous thoughts may come into it...But each day the mind's vagaries are becoming less and less violent—until at last the mind will be under perfect control...It is tremendous work...only after a patient, continuous struggle for years and years can we succeed." To avoid distraction, the aspirant should live alone. "Those who really want to be yogis must give up, once and for all, this nibbling at things. Take up one idea, make that idea your life...That is the way great spiritual giants are produced."¹³

This libidinal cathexis on the ego-ideal expresses itself in an effort towards moral self-perfection. The ego-ideal implied in the *Yoga Sutras* is one in which altruism has only a minor place, but a man with a different type of ego-ideal could use the technique for his purpose. Vivekananda is one who did so, though his guru had to arouse him to a sense of his duty.

¹¹ Avalon, *Serpent Power*, pp. 228, 233.

¹² Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, pp. 68-69, 72-73.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81, 85.

Ramakrishna once asked him how he proposed to spend the rest of his life. He replied that he would spend it in the enjoyment of samadhi—the blissful state of completely in-turned libido which is the aim of yoga. Ramakrishna rebuked him and said that his duty was to use his gifts to serve mankind. He realised the truth of this in an instant. However, his conversion was not complete, for five years after Ramakrishna's death he received a similar jolt from a dancing girl, who demonstrated to him that he was still animated by pride and that his love was not universal.¹⁴

Schweitzer stresses the Hindu's "exaltation above the world." Vivekananda gives support to the idea that such feelings play an important part in inspiring the yogi. "Absolute control of nature, and nothing short of it, must be the goal. We must be the masters, and not the slaves of nature...the body is mine, and not I the body's." "Freedom is never to be obtained by the weak; tell your body that it is strong, tell your mind that it is strong, and have unbounded faith and hope in yourself."¹⁵

Yoga consists in a systematic effort to establish the control of the ego over the id. Ego-feeling, conscious and unconscious, is specially strong in the narcissistic personality, and its mobilisation in the interest of self-cultivation will be relatively unobstructed by in-turned aggression. These considerations, together with the efficacy of the breathing and other techniques invented by the yogis, explain their success in this difficult undertaking.

The chastity complex

The narcissistic psyche is distinguished by a special dislike of the loss of semen. The yogi is one in whom this dislike is dominant. He is the type of those who "prefer power to women," the fore-pleasure to the pleasure of the orgasm, who adopt the permanent phallus as their unconscious life-model.

In all forms of yoga continence is a strict disciplinary principle. The ancient commentaries translated by Woods take it for

¹⁴ Rolland, *Life of Vivekananda*, II. 24-25.

¹⁵ Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, pp. 26, 35.

granted, and Vivekananda, whose book was given as lectures before a mixed audience when Queen Victoria was still alive, does no more than mention it, but most expositions stress it strongly. "The falling of seed leads towards death, the keeping of one's seed is life. Hence with all his power should a man hold his seed."¹⁶ Aspirants are taught the doctrine of ojas mentioned above: that their technique enables them to transform sex energy into other forms of energy. Even in that form of yoga which aims at pleasure as well as liberation, continence is considered necessary, and it is said that at some stages a breach of this principle involves danger to life.¹⁷ Some yogis combine pleasure with continence by means of a technique which enables them to retain the semen even during intercourse. An exercise called vajroli, first practised with milk, enables the yogi to draw into the penis semen which has been emitted, and also the liquid in the vagina. In the *Yogatattvopaniṣad* this exercise is associated with amaroli, which consists in drinking and snuffing into the nostrils one's own urine.¹⁸ Both processes are believed to have physiological value—a distinctly narcissistic idea.

Shiva in one form is the Great Yogi. Some sculptures show him with the lingam erect; and the lingam is his symbol. Some sculptural representations, such as that at Guddimalam,¹⁹ combine the standing figure with a very realistic lingam standing above and around it. It is common to illustrate texts on yoga with a diagram somewhat resembling this combination, showing the trunk of a seated yogi and superimposed on it the sushumna, ida, and pingala culminating in the sahasrara round the head. The effect is to suggest an identification of the yogi's body with the lingam. Such diagrams support the idea that in the unconscious the yogi has taken the permanent phallus as his life model. The aspirant is always told to sit up straight when doing his yogic practice.²⁰ Buddha-ghosha says that the Buddha "will not stoop or lean backwards, nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetri-

¹⁶ *Shiva Samhita*, qu. by Danielou, *Yoga*, p. 45.

¹⁷ Avalon, *Serpent Power*, p. 189.

¹⁸ Gajendragadkar, *Neo-Upanishadic Philosophy*, pp. 130-31.

¹⁹ Coomaraswamy, *Indian Art*, p. 34.

²⁰ Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, p. 67.

cally.”²¹ The *Yoga Sutras* do not mention the sushumna and the rest, but in later times these figure in most expositions. Vivekananda refers to them, and his published text is embellished with a diagram of the kind described.

The psycho-analytic doctrine is that the origins from which arise the conceptions of the soul, of heaven, and of the path thereto, the path often being represented as a narrow bridge, are the semen, the uterus, and the penis. There can be little doubt that these are the originals of the sushumna and the other entities described in the later expositions of yoga, though they cannot account for all the details.

The *Brihadaranyaka* refers to “the immortal luminous spirit (purusha) abiding in the semen according to his relation to the soul” (Roer’s translation) or “this shining immortal purusha who is made of semen” (Hume’s translation). The sushumna is described as a channel, of which the lower end is at the lotus or chakra called muladhara, between the anus and the root of the penis. The sushumna passes through the spinal column and ends at the top of the head in the thousand-petalled lotus, the sahasrara or brahmarandhra. The sushumna is entwined with two other channels, the ida and pingala, which begin from the testicles and end in the nostrils. According to some texts the ida conveys the semen and the pingala the ovum.²² The three channels cross each other at five points called chakras, depicted as lotuses of different colours and with different numbers of petals. Including the muladhara and the sahasrara there are seven chakras.

A story in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* gives a fairly clear indication of the symbolic meaning of the lotus. A king wanted a son, and so worshipped Lakshmi every day with 108 white lotuses pierced by a sword. One day, finding that a lotus was missing, he gave her the lotus of his heart spitted on his sword. She was pleased and granted him a son who would rule the earth. Another from the same book may give the origin of the bridge symbol. A man dreamed that a lion rushed at him. He drew his sword and it fled. On the opposite bank of a river it thrust out its tongue at him. He

²¹ qu. by Eliade, *J. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art* (1937), p. 192.

²² Eliade, *Yoga*, p. 239.

cut off its tongue, and used it to cross the river, for it was as broad as a bridge. The lion now became a deformed giant.²³ In mythology, deformed is often equivalent to castrated.

Vivekananda says, "Slowly fill the lungs with breath through the Ida, the left nostril, and at the same time concentrate the mind on the nerve current. You are, as it were, sending the nerve current down the spinal column, and striking violently on the last plexus, the basic lotus...the seat of the Kundalini...Imagine that you are slowly drawing that nerve current with the breath through the other side, the Pingala, then slowly throw it out through the right nostril...Some day, if you practise hard, the Kundalini will be aroused." "If this coiled-up energy be roused and made active, and then consciously made to travel up the Sushumna canal, as it acts upon centre after centre, a tremendous reaction will set in...As the Kundalini force travels from centre to centre, layer after layer of the mind, as it were, opens up, and this universe is perceived in its fine or causal form...hence comes all knowledge...Thus the rousing of the Kundalini is the one and only way to attaining Divine Wisdom."²⁴

Thus like the semen travelling along the penis to the uterus, which is heaven, the Kundalini, starting from the same place, is driven up the sushumna to the top of the head, where its advent brings divine wisdom. In another version of the process, it culminates in the head in the form of the union of Tripura-sundari and Shiva. In the diagrams and sculptures mentioned above, the head is identified with the glans penis, and hence with the terminus of the soul's journey, heaven. In the Jain cosmology, the universe is represented as a human figure; the top of the head is heaven, and those souls which have achieved salvation hang within the skull like bats in a cave.

Carstairs draws attention to the importance attached to the head. Recall the horror expressed even by his own partisans when Bhima kicked with his left foot the head of the prostrate Duryodhana.²⁵ Carstairs also mentions the popular theory

²³ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, chs. 61, 69.

²⁴ Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, pp. 69-71, 64-65.

²⁵ *MBh.* Shalya P., LIX, LX.

that the head contains a store of semen.²⁶ This is the theory of ojas referred to by Vivekananda. The identification of the head with the glans penis and with heaven suggests the origin of the idea. It is a popular belief that at death the soul of a good man leaves the body through the brahmarandhra in the top of the head, while that of a bad man leaves it through the anus.²⁷ In the marriage ceremony of many Mysore castes the bride and bridegroom wear on the head ornaments called bhashingas, which are recognisable models of the sex organs.²⁸

The yoga expounded by Patanjali eschews overt reference to sexuality, but the variant associated with Shakti worship uses imagery which is frankly sexual. The Kundalini when at rest in the muladhara is coiled like a snake round a phallus called the swayambhulinga. When roused, the Kundalini appears as a beautiful girl of 16, with whom the aspirant is told to identify. She ascends the sushumna, finally reaching the sahasrara, where she meets and unites with Shiva. The swayambhulinga is identified with the Shivabindu, i.e. seed, and the Kundalini when wound round it becomes identified with it, "one indivisible unity of dual aspect." When the Kundalini unites with Shiva, a flood of nectar, consisting of blood and semen, flows from the sahasrara to the muladhara.²⁹ (Again recalling the Mysore marriage ceremony, during which the "milk post", made of a wood which exudes a milky sap, is "married" to a twig from another tree which exudes a red sap.³⁰) Here the identity of the soul, of heaven, and of the path thereto with the semen, the uterus, and the penis is made quite plain.

The world axis

Woodroffe says, "... the spinal cord is the axis of the body, just as Mount Meru is the axis of the earth. Hence man's spine is called the Merudanda."³¹ Eliade calls attention to the similarity between the "ascetical itinerary" of the yogi and the pilgrimage to a holy place or the ascent of a holy

²⁶ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, pp. 77-78, 84.

²⁷ Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, pp. 133-34; Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, p. 184.

²⁸ Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, p. 73.

²⁹ Avalon, *Serpent Power*, pp. 34, 100, 240.

³⁰ Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, pp. 92-93.

³¹ Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shakta*, p. 408.

mountain. "The ascent of the terraces of Barabudur is a mystical operation, similar to the contemplative ascent realised by the yogi."³² Elsewhere Eliade has pointed out the common character of the seven-stepped ziggurat, the holy mountain, the Buddhist stupa, the Tree of Life, the centre or navel of the world, the world axis, and the ladder to heaven seen by the Patriarch Jacob; and has pointed out that the Buddha ascended to heaven in seven steps.³³

The navel is identified with the centre of the macrocosm because it is the centre from which the embryo is fed and grows. But the sex organ can equally be regarded as the centre of the microcosm, and it fulfils the requirements of the path, bridge, or ladder to heaven more satisfactorily than the navel, and has a closer resemblance to the holy mountain, the stupa, etc. The sushumna, which coincides with the axis of the body, has seven chakras, as the path has seven steps; and there can be little doubt that the sushumna stands for the sex organ. It is probable therefore that it was the linga rather than the navel which was the original of the world axis, the holy mountain, the stupa, the Tree of Life, and so forth.

Power

The *Yoga Sutras* assert that yoga confers on the aspirant a variety of powers. Most of these can be described as purely narcissistic: they directly affect the ego, increasing its knowledge, virtue or happiness. A few, however, are modes of exerting power upon the outer world. Vivekananda says, "There is no limit to the power of the human mind. The more concentrated it is, the more power is brought to bear on one point: that is the secret." "The man who has learned how to manipulate the internal forces will get the whole of nature under his control. The Yogi proposes to himself no less a task than to master the whole universe, to control the whole of nature." "The gigantic will-powers of the world, the world-movers, can bring their Prana into a high state of vibration, and it is so great and powerful that it catches others in a moment, and thousands are drawn towards them."³⁴

³² Eliade, *J. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art* (June, 1937), p. 196.

³³ Eliade, *Myth of Eternal Return*, pp. 12-17.

³⁴ Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga*, pp. 10, 13, 49-50.

The art of influencing people has in India an extra dimension, added by yoga. A popular text-book on this subject tells the aspirant to cultivate religious faith; to lead a moral life, avoiding in particular improper sex-relations; to increase his *tejas*, aura, or soul-force, by breathing exercises, etc.; to cultivate a hypnotic stare; to reassure himself by repeating verbal formulae that he is strong and has the power to control everything; and, in particular instances, to repeat words describing what he wants another person to do and expressing his confidence that that person will do it. In this way a man can compel another to entertain illusions; can absorb another's vital principle or *tejas* into himself; can attract other people's money; can cause others to quarrel; can paralyse another; can cause another to fall unconscious; and can cause another's death. Those who exercise these powers on animals find it necessary to use a wand or magnetic rod, "a rod saturated with the mesmeric forces and the power of the *tejas*."³⁵

The rod goes back to the quarrel between Viswamitra and Vashishtha. Viswamitra performed *tapas* and obtained many weapons from Shiva. "Snatching up his staff, equal to the rod of Yama, Vashishtha advanced like a naked flame." Viswamitra discharged his weapons one after another, but "Vashishtha with his staff alone destroyed all these. Viswamitra raised the *Brahmastra*. The three worlds shook with fear. But Vashishtha subdued it, and as he did so his face became terrible and from each pore of his body shafts of light shone forth, while his staff, shining like fire, burst into flame."³⁶ The representation of the phallus as a flame or beam of light is common and was recognised before the days of psycho-analysis.

Corresponding to the irresistible power of the permanent phallus, the loss of semen is felt to involve a loss of power. One of the weapons given by Viswamitra to Rama was the *Madanastra*, "which creates in man unbearable sexual desire, so that he is unable to fight."³⁷ *Madana* is the God of Love; the word also means love-play, making love.

The magic staff of the *Kapalika*, member of a certain *Shaiva*

³⁵Premananda, *Vasikarana Tantra*.

³⁶*Ramayana*, I. 55-56.

³⁷*Ibid.*, I. 27.

sect, was a stick with a skull at the top. As noticed above, the skull was believed to contain a store of semen. When he lost his staff, the Kapalika lost his magical power.³⁸ A Tantric text on the retention of the semen during coitus says, "He who has immobilised the king of his spirit through identity of enjoyment in the state of the Innate, instantly becomes a magician; he fears not old age and death."³⁹

Eliade points out the similarity between nishkama karma, performing one's duty in the world while withholding attachment from the outcome, and the Tantric ritual of performing the sex act while withholding the semen. "By the fact that the act is no longer profane but a rite, that the partners are no longer human beings but 'detached' like gods, sexual union no longer participates in the cosmic plane." According to the Tantrics it was by performing the sex act that the Buddha conquered Mara, "and the same technique had made him omniscient and the master of magical powers."⁴⁰

The acquisition of power seems then to be ascribed to the two factors in combination: the conservation of the semen, i.e. the magical power of the permanent phallus, and the exertion of the will necessary to retain it even during intercourse. The adept delights in his ascetic virtuosity and feels a degree of power corresponding to the difficulty of the feat. These, however, are only special forms of the impulses behind all yoga.

The return to the womb

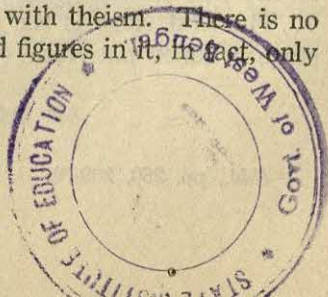
Narcissism and the mother-fixation must tend to be associated. The mother-fixation involves an unconscious desire to return to the mother's womb, and also to castrate oneself in order to become a woman and so be able to identify with the mother. Yoga is an extreme expression of the narcissistic personality type, and its technique involves a drastic suppression of the sex function. It would therefore be expected that yogis should show indications of the mother-fixation.

Yoga does not associate naturally with theism. There is no place in it for worship or grace. God figures in it, in fact, only

³⁸ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 124.

³⁹ Eliade, *Yoga*, p. 268.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.



as the personification of infinite knowledge, and differs little from the qualityless Brahman of the Advaita doctrine. It is only with the worship of the female principle, Shakti, that yoga has any close association.

In the Samkhya philosophy, which the yoga theorists profess, Prakriti, i.e. nature, is active and is female; Purusha, the principle of consciousness, is inert and is male. The Shakta devotees identify Shiva with the Purusha, and Shakti with Prakriti; and as the human individual is compounded of the two, in the Shakta rituals he plays both parts and identifies himself with both. "Sexual union is transformed into a ritual through which the human couple becomes a divine couple... The mistress synthesises the entire nature of woman; she is mother, sister, wife, daughter." "Tantrism (Shaktism) multiplies the pairs of opposites...the conjunction of opposites represents a transcending of the phenomenal world, abolishment of all experience of duality. The images employed suggest return to a primordial state of non-differentiation."⁴¹

A Shakta text, the *Yogini Tantra*, prescribes the following meditation: "Think of three Bindus (points) above Kala, and then that from these a young girl, 16 years old, springs forth, shining with the light of millions of rising suns...Think of Her body from crown to throat as springing from the upper Bindu, and that Her body from throat to middle, with its two breasts and three belly lines of beauty, arises from the two lower Bindus. Then imagine that the rest of Her body from genitals to feet is born from Kama (the God of Love)...Then let the sadhaka (aspirant) think of his own body as such Kamakala." "...the sadhaka in layasiddhiyoga, thinking of himself as Shakti and the Paramatma as Purusha, feels himself in union with Shiva, and enjoys with Him the bliss which is Sringararasa." "This kundalini, as soon as it is awakened, is in the kumari (girl) stage. On reaching the anahata (the chakra near the heart) it attains the yoshit stage (womanhood)...The next stage is the sahasrara... and the Shakti in that stage is called pativrata (devoted to husband)." "What need

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 269-70.

have I of any outer woman? I have an Inner Woman within myself."⁴²

The identification with a woman is not confined to meditation. "In the early stages of Hathayoga Sadhana the heat goes upward, the penis shrinks, and sexual powers are largely lost." "Some yogis can make both the penis and testes disappear in the pubic arch, so that the body has the appearance of that of a woman." "To be urdhvaretas is not merely to prevent the emission of gross semen already formed, but to prevent its formation as gross seed, and its absorption into the general system. The body of a man who is truly urdhvaretas has the scent of a lotus. A chaste man whose gross semen has formed may smell like a buck goat."⁴³ The identification with a woman is believed to go so far that semen is no longer formed.

Despite his remark that the images suggest return to a primordial state of non-differentiation, Eliade denies that samadhi is "a mere regression to primordial non-distinction... Liberation is not assimilable with the 'deep sleep' of prenatal existence... The yogin enters into 'deep sleep' and the 'fourth state' with the utmost lucidity; he does not sink into self-hypnosis... he reintegrates the original completeness after having established a new and original state of being—*consciousness of freedom*, which exists nowhere in the cosmos."⁴⁴ The state of mind of one who has attained samadhi is of course not identical with that of the embryo. All that is meant is that there are such similarities between them that only those who are fixated at that stage, or at the stage soon after birth, i.e. are of the narcissistic type, are likely to feel a strong impulse to take the path of yoga.

Some of the Tantric sadhanas aim at both salvation and worldly enjoyment. Those who follow them may return to ordinary life and recover their sexual power. Most yogis, however, remain mother-identified and in a state approximating to the inter-uterine life. This is a situation congenial to the more completely narcissistic type of psyche, which feels that

⁴² Avalon, *Serpent Power*, pp. 136, 239, 249, 295.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 199, 203.

⁴⁴ Eliade, *Yoga*, pp. 99-100.

it gains strength or safety by increasing the introversion of its impulses. Reference has been made above to the image of the tortoise withdrawing its head and legs within its shell. Eliade puts the same feeling in different terms. Yoga, he says, is a finding of one's own centre. It makes a man "real," because it gives him his own centre and suspends his blind participation in cosmic becoming. Reality is one, static and sacred.⁴⁵ "One, static, and sacred" is an apt account of the feeling which inspires the imagined return to the womb, and "real" expresses the satisfaction of the narcissistic psyche in its achievement. In the Hindu temple, the most sacred chamber, in which the image is kept unmoved, static, is normally a small, dark room with one narrow entrance, and is plainly called garbhagriha, womb-house.

It does seem, however, that there is a certain reluctance to associate the Tantric ritual partner with the mother. Eliade says that the shakti "synthesises mother, sister, wife, daughter." But he also says that in one type of ritual she must be "young, beautiful, and learned," and in another she is a courtesan or of low caste, commonly a washerman.⁴⁶ Neither is likely to stand for the mother. According to Avalon, Kundalini passes through the three stages of girl, adult woman, and wife; he does not say mother. The evidence cited earlier points clearly to the fantasy of the return to the womb; probably, then, even with the Shaktas this fantasy remains unconscious.

It is argued below that the sentiment of caste exclusiveness derives from the fear of the loss of semen, transformed into a fear of contact with alien semen felt during the unconscious fantasy of existence in the womb. The Shakta who performs the ritual with a low-caste woman comes as near as possible to exposing himself to this pollution by entering her womb in the form of semen, but actually refrains from doing so. The difficult feat of retaining the semen appeals to ego-motives, and the triumph of retention is reinforced by the narrow escape from pollution: the greater the danger, the greater the self-congratulation. That is why "the more depraved and debauched the woman, the more fit she is for the rite."⁴⁷ On

⁴⁵ Eliade, "Cosmic Homology and Yoga," *J. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art* (1937).

⁴⁶ Eliade, *Yoga*, p. 260, 261.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

the other hand, the greater the temptation, the greater the triumph in resisting it. That is why, in the other type of ritual, the shakti must be young and beautiful.

It is also argued below that in South India some of the castes have passed from a phase in which they increased their stock of semen, the "life substance," by means of ritual prostitution, to a phase in which they tried ever more rigorously to conserve the group's semen and protect it against pollution by alien semen. The Devadasi institution was a relic of the earlier phase. It may be that the Tantric sect adapted itself to a similar change by using the yogic technique for retention of the semen, thus preserving the old practice of sexual promiscuity, but in such a way as not to violate the fundamental principle of caste. People of other sects who continued to consort with Devadasis did so only at the cost of their moral convictions, though the toleration extended to the Devadasis down to the first decades of the twentieth century shows the strength of the old tradition.

In view of this account I venture to differ from Agehananda Bharati,⁴⁸ who seems to consider it merely accidental that Hinduism has tended for the past millennium or more towards puritanism. Puritanism is inherent in the narcissistic personality structure, with its drive towards the exaltation of an ego-ideal necessarily built round the semen complex. The remnants of anti-puritanical ideas which are still so evident, in the Devadasi institution, erotic sculpture, and so forth, lingered on so long because of the non-aggressive character which distinguishes Hindu from occidental puritanism. In accordance with the non-aggressive, absorptive character of their culture, the Hindus tried to accommodate the Tantric doctrine, and they succeeded to the extent that they imposed upon it the prohibition on shedding the semen. However, the technique whereby this is done is presumably too difficult for most people, so genuine Tantricism was suppressed, except for a tiny minority who continue to observe its rituals in secret.

Yoga in history

"As early as the hymns of the *Rigveda* we can already see

⁴⁸ Agehananda, *Esthetical Norm*.

the thought from which world and life negation developed... the Shamans and medicine men, later called Yogins, get themselves into a state of ecstasy through drinking the intoxicating Soma, through mortification of the flesh and by self-hypnosis. Thus possessed, they regard themselves as beings into whom the gods have entered, and believe themselves in possession of supernatural powers. This consciousness of being "uplifted above the world which is experienced in ecstasy is the condition determining Indian world and life negation."⁴⁹ Here Schweitzer suggests that the invention of yoga was the decisive event leading to the development of the distinctive personality type and culture of India. The idea is plausible.

Even if all the supposed paranormal effects of yoga are imaginary, the practice can have important effects at the psychological level. Many of those who follow it but stop short of the final goal, samadhi, return to ordinary life with increased equanimity, self-control, determination, and capacity to dominate and lead others. These qualities may suffice to explain its prestige among the lay public, while the intellectual elite would be attracted to it by the prospect of reaching the higher stages. It seems in any case to be a fact that yoga created an enormous impression on the mind of ancient India. Eliade says it achieved an "almost total conquest of Indian spirituality."⁵⁰ The yogi became an ideal or model personality, and though only a culture which was already narcissistic could have invented yoga, once it was invented, the power, prestige, and fascination its devotees acquired must have had an important influence in turning Indian psychological development still more definitely in the narcissistic direction.

⁴⁹ Schweitzer, *Indian Thought*, p. 31.

⁵⁰ Eliade, *Yoga*, p. 143.

Chapter 6

MYTHOLOGY

IN JUDGING between the hitherto accepted view that the typical Hindu psyche is punitive and the contention that it is narcissistic, the simplest criterion is the manifestation of the positive Oedipus complex. If sons frequently hate, attack, castrate, or kill their fathers, then the accepted view is sound; if they seldom do so but normally submit to their fathers, adopt the passive homosexual attitude, or castrate themselves in order to win his goodwill, then the view of this book is substantiated.

Some students of the subject deny that the Oedipus complex has any place in the Hindu psyche. Some acquaintance with the Puranas and the Epics makes such denial doubtful. In the *Mahabharata*, Bhishma, in deference to his father, vowed never to procreate; Dhritarashtra was born blind, i.e. symbolically castrated; Pandu killed a Rishi during intercourse and was prevented from procreating by his curse; Babhruvahana defeated and slew his father Arjuna. In those times India does not appear to have differed from Europe. In later ages these themes were repressed and their meaning was forgotten in both cultures, but in Europe they showed themselves in the romances of the Middle Ages, the tragedies of the Renaissance, and the romantic poems and novels of the nineteenth century. The popularity of these works was partly due to the unconscious echoes which the repressed themes called forth. On the other hand, no comparable themes are to be found in later Hindu literature.

When Freud's ideas were published in Europe they were bitterly attacked, but also widely acclaimed and quickly assimilated into general culture; from both types of reception it may be inferred that readers felt their truth. In India, though the ideas are fairly familiar, they do not appear to have called forth either eager acceptance or strong hostility. This luke-

warm reception suggests that if they correspond to important facts about the Hindu mind of the past, there have been changes which make them no longer applicable in the same way today.

Summarising many passages from the Vedas and Brahmanas, Ananda Coomaraswamy states the ancient creation myth thus: "In the eternal beginning there is only the Person, Progenitor, Mountain, Tree, Dragon, or endless Serpent. Related to this principle by filiation or younger brotherhood is the Dragon-Slayer, born to supplant the Father and take possession of the kingdom. The Dragon-Slayer devours his victim, and by this Eucharistic meal he takes possession of the first-born Dragon's treasure and powers and becomes what he was. The comprehensor of this doctrine shall in like manner swallow up his own evil, hateful adversary. This 'adversary' is, of course, none but ourselves. We who were at war with ourselves are now reintegrated and self-composed: the rebel has been tamed and pacified, and where there had been a conflict of wills there is now unanimity. There are more ways than one of 'killing' a Dragon; and the Dragon-Slayer's bolt, being in fact a shaft of light, and 'light the progenitive power,' its signification is not only military, but also phallic. It is the battle of love that has been won when the Dragon 'expires.'"¹

The first part of this passage is very much like a statement of the psycho-analytic doctrine of the formation of the punitive conscience. It is condensed, but the meaning is unchanged, and Coomaraswamy seems to have wished it to be recognised, and to ascribe to the Vedic authors an understanding of that doctrine. Whether he was right is immaterial for the present purpose; but if he has stated the myth correctly, it can be inferred that in the society which produced it the punitive psychic type predominated. It will be noticed, however, that the latter part of the passage hints at a change of the prevailing psychic type.

Apart from the story of Babhruvahana and Arjuna, only one of the myths known to me conforms as it stands to the positive Oedipus situation. Rudra castrated his father Prajapati with an arrow. But there are hints that Indra killed his father,

¹ Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, pp. 6-23.

and perhaps castrated him. Krishna killed his uncle Kamsa, and Rama killed the tyrant Ravana; but if that were all, the sceptic who denied that these two stories ever had this significance would be justified.

However, the simple Oedipus myth is connected with a number of other incidents, several of which occur in the stories of Krishna and Rama. It is probable, then, that both these stories in their original forms resembled the story of Rudra and Prajapati; and if so, the people among whom these stories were current were probably of the punitive type. But the stories have been altered so far that they no longer arouse even unconscious echoes of the original feelings, and this shows that the prevalent psychic type among the people who repeat the stories has changed.

The legends of Indra, of Krishna, of Rama, of the Pandavas and Kauravas, of the Churning of the Sea of Milk, and perhaps those of Rudra and Prajapati, and of Shunahshepa, appear to derive largely or partly from a creation ritual which was practised as part of the cult of the divine king. In order to appreciate the evidence on this point, some acquaintance with the details of the ritual is necessary. Hocart collected evidence from a large area stretching from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Islands. He quotes the ritual of the consecration of the king given in the *Shatapatha Brahmana*, and refers to the tradition of the Chakravartin, the world emperor, as set forth in the Buddhist texts. But neither he nor Raglan, who supplemented his work, seems to have been aware of the evidence in the Indian Epics and Puranas, which confirms some of their guesses.

Raglan has reconstructed the creation ritual from which most of the later rituals and legends connected with the divine kingship must have evolved. He refers to "the mock battle, the procession of people disguised as animals, the fire-altar, and the important part played by the snake. The sacred site was a tree on a mound or hill-top. There was a trench round the tree. The youth and maiden who were to play the parts of king-brother and queen-sister appeared from the river, arriving by boat; they were made to climb into the sacred tree. The sacred enclosure was drenched with water.

The next incident was the sacrifice of the young man who had taken the part of the king-brother the previous year. His blood was caught in a bowl and he was dismembered. His skull and eyeballs were hung on the tree to represent the sky, sun, and moon, his blood was poured into the trench to represent the river or sea, while other parts of his anatomy represented the animals and plants. Two ribs were set aside, as well as the skin. The next step was to take some clay, work it up with the victim's blood, and mould it on to the two ribs in the shape of a pair of human figures, male and female. A ceremony of animating the figures was gone through, and the youth and maiden then came down from the tree, or 'descended from the sky.' The youth descended first, and the girl had to look for him and then make advances to him. She, or both of them, ate the part of the human victim which was believed to contain his life-essence, probably the heart, one of them put on his skin, and they then had ritual intercourse. Originally the pair were both sacrificed at the end of the year, but the practice of killing the sister-queen was abandoned much earlier than that of killing the king-brother, and the sacrifice of the queen at the king's funeral, until recently the rule in India, was an indirect rather than a direct outcome of the creation rite. When the queen-sister began to function for several years in succession, she would have to renew her virginity annually, and when the king-brother was also spared, she would have to feign sisterhood, and to have or feign intercourse with the man or animal that died in his stead."²

When the queen-sister was spared, she married her husband's successor, who came to be considered his son; thus he married his mother. Many myths derive from the rivalry between the father and the son who fought and replaced him and married his own mother. Here also arose the story of the father's attempt to kill the infant hero who was destined to kill him. It was done sometimes by offering the child as a sacrifice, and sometimes by putting him in a basket on water, whence he was rescued and brought up by a couple of in-

² Raglan, *Jocasta's Crime*, ch. 23.

ferior birth. The period of the victim's life was extended, and at one time in Greece it was eight years. At Calicut the ritual of exposing the king to an attempt on his life once every twelve years was observed until the middle of the eighteenth century.³ A variant was that whereby he was killed only ritually, and then came back to life. During his ritual death he was hidden. Some stories show him spending a year underground, with appropriate adventures. The hero who returned from the dead was the original of the dying god. In later times, in place of a man an animal was killed, and the creation ceremony was performed with its body. Some myths describe the separation of earth and sky as the splitting of the body of an animal; some as the separation of two figures, male and female.

Indra

Indra shows several points of resemblance to the god who emerged from the cult reconstructed by Raglan. His principal feat was the slaying of a snake or dragon, and this was evidently part of a creation rite. "Indra, when he had slain the resistless Vritra, forced with his might the two halves of the world asunder."⁴ Indra's strength declined from time to time and had to be renewed through the sacrifice: "Indra comes to recruit his decaying strength."⁵ This may correspond to the annual death and resurrection of the divine king. Many Vedic hymns declare that by killing Vritra he made the waters flow. This may refer to the flooding of the sacred enclosure, or to the pouring out of the victim's blood. It has long been recognised that some of these passages refer to the annual revival of animal fertility.

"Vritra defied Indra, who struck him with the thunderbolt upon his mountain-like shoulder, like one emasculated who pretends to virility; then Vritra, mutilated of many members, slept." "Who, O Indra, made thy mother a widow? What god was present in the fray when thou didst slay thy father, seizing him by the foot?"⁶ Achilles, Oedipus, Krishna, and

³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, pp. 275-76.

⁴ *Atharva V.*, XX.123.

⁵ *Rigveda* VII.37.7.

⁶ *Rigveda* I.32.7, IV, 18.12.

other heroes of this type suffer a wound in the foot; it is interpreted as castration. Thus these verses strongly suggest that Indra castrated and killed his father. I have found no other direct reference to this incident, but there is a story of Indra entering a cave, where he is shown four previous Indras.⁷ This confirms the identification of Indra with the central figure, who is first the hero and then the victim, of a periodical ritual.

The story of Indra and Gautama is in a similar vein, but with a significant difference. Indra seduced Ahalya, the wife of the Rishi Gautama. According to one version, Gautama exerted his ascetic power to castrate Indra;⁸ according to another, Gautama condemned him to be covered with a thousand vulvas, later in mercy changed to eyes.⁹ The implication of the two versions is of course the same. In the ritual, and in the earlier legends, the son is successful in his conflict with the father. In this story it is the father-figure who castrates the son. This is a step away from the punitive mentality, the mentality of the aggressive son, to the narcissistic mentality, the attitude of the submissive son, which is characteristic of India in later times.

Indra also had a son, Kutsa, and their general relation was one of enmity, though Indra helped Kutsa to defeat Chushna. Kutsa lay with Indra's wife, Sachi, and Indra overthrew Kutsa.¹⁰ This defeat of the son by the father is again a departure from the punitive and an approximation to the narcissistic outlook.

Rudra and Prajapati

Beginning in the *Rigveda* and throughout the Brahmanas, Prajapati is the father of the Gods, the creator, and the God of fertility. He is identified with the sacrifice, and with Purusha, the victim of human form who is sacrificed to produce the world, the animal species, the varnas, etc. He is also identified with the year.¹¹ This is still the case in the

⁷ MBh., Adi P. CXIX.20.

⁸ Ramayana I.48.

⁹ MBh., Shanti P. XLI.21.

¹⁰ Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, pp. 125, 129-30.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-9.

Upanishads. "He knows the Ashwamedha (horse sacrifice) who knows him in this manner. Having left it unrestrained, he considered himself as the horse. After a year he slaughtered it for his own sake, he gave up the animals to the gods. Therefore they slaughter the purified animal, representing in its nature as Prajapati all deities. He is the Ashwamedha who shines. His body is the year."¹² The *Prashna Upanishad*, I.9, also says, "The year is Prajapati." There are several points of similarity between the Vedic sacrifice cult and the ritual reconstructed by Raglan, and it appears reasonable to regard Prajapati-Purusha as deriving from the victim in Raglan's account.

The *Rigveda*, X.61.6-7, refers to Rudra's attack on Prajapati, but later documents give it more clearly. "Prajapati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, desiring, 'May I pair with her.' So saying, he had intercourse with her. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said, 'He is guilty who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra aimed at him and pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground...When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajapati and cut out of him the arrow."¹³

In later ages Prajapati became Brahma.¹⁴ The following story seems to be a new version of that just given. "Brahma set about devising some plan which would carry on the work of creation and would relieve him of the task...After some time the goddess Gayatri appeared in the form of a girl from the half of Brahma's body, who mistakenly took her for his daughter. Seeing that form of exquisite beauty, he was fired with love...The sons of Brahma, taking Gayatri for their sister, expressed indignation and contempt...Gayatri began to circumambulate him in reverence...he felt shy of turning his head in her direction, as his sons were close by. He therefore created four heads, each facing one of the directions, so that he might see her undisturbed. Seeing Brahma in this state, Gayatri went to heaven, and as she journeyed up-

¹² *Brihadaranyaka Up.*, I.2.7, Roer's tr.

¹³ *Shatapatha Br.*, I.7.4.1-4.

¹⁴ Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

ward, Brahma put on a fifth head on top... After this Brahma lost the powers that he had acquired by asceticism."¹⁵ At this stage in the evolution of the story, Brahma refrains from intercourse with his daughter, his sons confine their protests to words, and Brahma loses his ascetic power, the power of the permanent phallus, through an impersonal process.

Later still, what appears to be the same original story is told in a third form. "Brahma exhorted his son Narada to marry and people the earth. Narada replied that devotion to Krishna is the only way to felicity, and denounced his father as an unworthy instructor. Brahma cursed Narada, condemning him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women. Narada retorted by cursing his father to lose all his worshippers and to be plagued by incestuous passion. Seeing the beauty of his own daughter, Brahma ran after her. When he was reproached by others, he became ashamed of his lust and abandoned his bodily form. Narada, having made obeisance to his father, forsook his body and became a Gandharva."¹⁶

Here the conflict is carried to the point of reciprocal curses, but the subject of the conflict is the reverse of that in the Oedipus situation. Instead of suppressing the son's sexuality, the father exhorts him to marry; instead of sexual jealousy, both show a narcissistic withdrawal from sex, and condemn each other to sexual addiction. They may be said to fight, not for a woman but for the power of chastity. This story represents in the most extreme way the modification undergone by the Oedipus theme in the narcissistic psyche.

Varuna

Varuna is a supreme God, who far more than any other Vedic God punishes men for sin. In the later part of the Vedic period his character as an upholder of morality ceases to be stressed, and by the end of the period he almost ceases to be mentioned. The Gods who take his place are less concerned with enforcing morality. These facts accord with

¹⁵ *Matsya P.*, III. 30-41.

¹⁶ *Narada Pancharatra*, X. 30.

the thesis of this book, that at an early historical stage in India the punitive outlook gave way to the narcissistic.

Keith says: "The figure of Ahura Mazda cannot possibly be dissociated from Varuna... Like Ahura, Varuna is the lord of holy order, Rita,... the mere moral grandeur of both deities can only be explained by a common origin: the history of Varuna in India is that of moral elevation which gradually disappears... It is inconceivable that this fact should be explained in any other way than that as a god he was brought to India, where under less favourable circumstances his moral quality evaporated. This theory, moreover, renders it easy to understand the success of the Zoroastrian faith and its choice of Ahura as the great and only god... the idea of Rita is one which, like the moral elevation of Varuna, has no future history in India, pointing irresistibly to the view that it was not an Indian creation, but an inheritance which did not long survive its new milieu."¹⁷

Mr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya argues that Keith's explanation, that the Indian climate or racial environment was unsuitable to Rita and Varuna's early moral character, has no cogency. His own explanation is that Rita was the fraternal and egalitarian code or atmosphere of the tribe, that because of the rise of private property during the Vedic era, the tribal society broke up and was replaced by the monarchical state, and that the moral decline of Varuna corresponds to this change.¹⁸

It remains true, however, that there was a difference in moral and religious climate between Iran and India. Despite the disappearance of the tribe and the rise of the monarchical state, Iran adhered, down to the Arab invasion, to the Zoroastrian religion, which pictures a good god and a wicked devil in eternal conflict, an appropriate expression of the internal conflict of the punitive psyche. Iran and India underwent parallel social changes, from the tribe to the state, but in Iran the punitive outlook persisted, while in India it was replaced by the narcissistic outlook.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya's account of the moral atmosphere

¹⁷ Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, pp. 33-35.

¹⁸ Chattopadhyaya, *Lokayata*, pp. 625-43.

of tribal life suggests that it was free from authority and oppression, and that everybody acted as he was required to do without thought of disobedience. He concedes that authority entered later, as the tribal system declined. In view of what we know of men in other circumstances, this is surely unlikely, and it does not agree with the account of Varuna which we derive even from the earlier Mandalas of the *Rigveda*. Omitting the later Mandalas, I and X, and that concerned only with Soma, IX, a hasty survey shows that Varuna is described as royal, sovereign, monarch, supreme monarch, preëminent over the gods, king of kings, in thirty-four places; he is called righteous, observer of holy vows, truthful, virtuous, of holy acts, sinless, discriminating between virtue and vice, observant of obligations, he in whom all pious acts are concentrated, the guide to the path of virtue, in twenty-five places; he is described as punishing sin, setting traps for the wicked, holder of fetters, enemy of those who neglect the rites, binding the sinner with bonds, in nine places; other gods are asked to avert Varuna's wrath or to tell him that "we are void of sin" in four places; he is asked to forgive sin, cast off sin as if it were a rope, discharge debts, correct offences as a father corrects a son, in fifteen places; he is described as multipresent, many-eyed, observer of the truth, beholding the innermost thoughts of men, observer of the sins of men, thousand-eyed, with unclosing eyes, observing men's deeds by means of the sun, having spies, far-seeing and far-hearing, in eighteen places. These attributes of Varuna allow us to infer a society which was by no means free from law-breakers or innocent of means for punishing them, and suggest a conscience of the punitive type.

If Mr. Chattopadhyaya draws too idyllic a picture of tribalism, he probably exaggerates the defects of the new monarchical state. Much of our information comes from Buddhists and Jains, who seem to have been strongly narcissistic, and therefore to have taken a gloomy view of all external activity and of life in the world as such. In fact their diatribes are directed much more against the painful, disgusting, or transitory character of life at the biological

level than against the sinful character of man as a social being, and this is entirely in accordance with the present analysis.

Krishna and Kamsa

Krishna corresponds closely to the model of the divine king derived from the primeval ritual. It was prophesied that he would kill his uncle, king Kamsa, who therefore had seven of his brothers killed; but Krishna, the eighth son, was smuggled away and escaped. He was brought up by foster-parents of low birth. He defeated monsters, including a snake. He descended to the land of the dead. When he overcame Shishupala, this mighty opponent was transformed into a great light, which entered Krishna; this corresponds to the son-successor eating part of the body of the father-predecessor and becoming mystically identified with him. Eventually Krishna killed his uncle, and he became a king. He was killed by an arrow in the foot. All these incidents identify Krishna as of the type of the divine king.

Moreover, he was one of a line of divine kings, all identical with each other, who slew opponents who were also identical with each other. The *Vishnu Purana* says that Hiranyakashipu was reincarnated as Ravana, and again as Shishupala; and Nrisimha, Rama and Krishna, who slew these three, were identical as avatars.¹⁹ Though tyrants, Hiranyakashipu, Ravana, and Shishupala were great ascetics, and Shishupala, on being killed by Krishna, achieved final salvation. The doctrine of the repeated reappearance of the hero and the tyrant whom he kills, evidently derived from the divine king cult, is most systematically set forth in the Jain documents, where they bear the titles of Vasudeva and Prativasudeva. The Vasudeva also has an older half-brother entitled Baladeva, who, though a great hero, is inferior to him.²⁰ Krishna had an elder half-brother, who ranked as an avatara. In several of the myths which appear to derive from this source, the hero has a faithful brother: Moses has Aaron, Rama has Lakshmana, Menelaus has Agamemnon. Hocart refers to the Chakravartin, but only from the Buddhist texts. Again it is the Jain tradition which

¹⁹ *Vishnu P.*, IV.15.

²⁰ Chauthmal, *Bhagwan Mahavir*, p. 12.

sets forth this doctrine in the most elaborate way. In each sarpini, half-cycle of the cosmos, there arise twenty-four Tirthankaras, twelve Chakravartins, nine Vasudevas, nine Baladevas, and nine Prativasudevas. The Vasudeva's skin is black (Krishna is always represented as dark), that of the Baladeva white; the Vasudeva's heraldic colour is yellow, and that of the Baladeva blue; and their weapons and insignia are similarly stereotyped.

The ocean of milk

Through a curse Indra and the Devas lost their energy, and the Asuras defeated them. Vishnu advised them to drink amrita, to be obtained by churning the ocean of milk. They threw herbs into the ocean, took Mount Mandara as the stirring-rod, and wound the fire-breathing snake Vasuki round it as the string. Upon stirring, fourteen archetypal objects emerged, among them the elephant Airavata, the horse Uchchaisrava, and Parijata, the tree which gives everything one asks for. Among them also was a poison, which threatened universal destruction; Shiva saved the world by swallowing it. Last came Dhanvantari with a vessel of amrita. The Asuras seized it, but Vishnu appeared as Mohini, and persuaded them to let her share it out. She made them sit in rows, the Devas on one side and the Asuras on the other. One of the Asuras crept into the Devas' row, but he was detected by the sun and moon; he was killed, and his body was cut into two and despatched to the sky as Rahu and Ketu. Mohini gave amrita to the Devas, and then vanished, taking the rest of it with her. Shiva asked Vishnu to assume the form of Mohini again. Vishnu laughed significantly, and Mohini appeared. Shiva seized her, but she escaped, and he pursued her, shedding seed.²¹

Nearly every incident in this legend corresponds to an item in the ritual described by Raglan. The ritual battle is now the churning, the Devas holding Vasuki's tail and the Asuras his head. The ritual meal and the ritual intercourse remain, and Vishnu's significant laugh and Mohini's reputation as the seductive one recall the pursuit of the man by the woman.

²¹ *Bhagavata P.*, VIII. 6-12.

The story brings in the mound, the water, now milk, the sun and moon, the snake, though in a new role, but complete with the fiery breath he uses in his encounter with St. George and other heroes. The story includes the human sacrifice, and the victim is cut in two; the parts are not made into earth and sky but are both sent to the sky. Shiva's swallowing of the poison is the death and revival of the god-king. The mode of creation in the ritual has changed to churning—appropriately, for churning creates fire, and butter. The ritual created the world and the animal species; the churning creates the archetypal elephant and horse, and Parijata, corresponding to the Tree of Life in the Biblical version of this myth, situated in the Garden of Eden, where are to be found the River of the Water of Life and Adam and Eve. There can be no doubt of the connection between the ritual and this legend, but there has been much toning down. Instead of the killing, dismemberment, and eating of the old king by the new, the puranic story has the swallowing of the poison.

Rama and Ravana

Raglan suggests, without pursuing the matter, that the story of the siege of Troy may derive from a ritual drama which in turn derives from the creation rite described above. The stories of the Siege of Troy and of the invasion of Lanka are so similar that they must derive from a common source. Raglan's suggestion therefore points to the origin of the Ramayana story also.

The hero wins his bride by defeating his rivals in a test of martial prowess. The heroine is of supernatural birth. At some point in the story the hero and his brother are exiled. The heroine is abducted and carried off to the villain's fortified city over the sea. The husband appeals to his allies and raises an army. Sacrifices are performed on the sea-shore before the army sails. They are at first repulsed and think of retreat, but eventually win the battle and rescue the heroine. As the villain goes forth to the last fatal encounter, his wife bids him an affecting farewell. The hero kills the abductor, and places on the throne of his city a

righteous deserter from the defeated side. This outline applies to both stories, with some slight changes of persons, and there are many more minor but striking parallels.²²

Both Rama and Sita were of divine origin, Sita being born from a furrow in a ploughed field, i.e. inferably from a fertility ritual. In Raglan's ritual the hero and heroine are brother and sister. This is not the case in Valmiki's Sanskrit poem, the best known version of the Ramayana, but it is so in some other versions. Narayan Aiyangar mentions variants of the story in the *Uttara Vasista*, *Skandottara*, and *Bhargava Puranas*, and in the Dasaratha Jataka, in which Rama and Sita were brother and sister.²³ In the *Maudgalya Ramayana*, and in a folk version also cited by Narayan Aiyangar, Sita was Ravana's daughter, and Ravana, warned that she would cause his death, threw her into the sea. In yet another folk version, Ravana tried to kill Rama's mother Kaushalya when she was a child.²⁴ These variants of the story make it a reasonable assumption that originally Rama and Sita were the twin children of Ravana, who vainly tried to kill the child who was destined to kill him.

In the *Trishashtishalakapurushacharitra* of the Jain teacher Hemachandra, a Sanskrit poem of the twelfth century A.D., Sita had a twin brother who had been her husband in their previous lives; another king carried him off and adopted him, and later tried to bring about his marriage to his twin sister, but Rama foiled the attempt. Exactly the same story is narrated in the *Ramayana* of the Jain author Pampa, a Kannada work also of the twelfth century.²⁵ This occurrence of twins in the Jain version of the legend is suggestive, but not in itself weighty evidence for the derivation of the Ramayana story from the ritual mentioned above, for pairs of twins are common in the Jain legends. According to the Jain cosmology, in the first age of the world, called Sukhama-sukhama, all humans are born as pairs of twins of opposite sex. Some

²² L. B. Kenny has given these parallels in detail in *Marxian Way* (Calcutta, 1948-49), p. 335.

²³ Narayan Aiyangar, *Essays*, I, 458-71.

²⁴ Manohar Lall, *Among the Hindus*, p. 33.

²⁵ Hemachandra, *Trishashti*, Vol. IV, pp. 195-206; B. L. Rice (ed.), *Pampa Ramayana*, (Bangalore, 1892).

of the characteristics of the narcissistic type are more pronounced in the Jain psyche than in the Hindu, and it is to be expected that people of the narcissistic type should be fascinated by twins. One's twin is one's alter ego, with whom identification, and therefore love, are particularly easy. In addition to those mentioned below, pairs of twins occur in both the epics, though they are not the most prominent characters: Lakshmana and Shatrughna in the *Ramayana*, Nakula and Sahadeva, and Kripa and Kripa, in the *Mahabharata*.

Rama's story has several points in common with the original ritual described by Raglan. He has the prescribed battle with a monster. His rivalry with Ravana corresponds to the hero's killing of his father and their marriage successively to the same woman. The attack upon the city across the sea corresponds to the arrival of the hero by boat at the sacred mound. In Krittibasa's Bengali version of the poem, Mandodari bids farewell to Ravana as he goes out to be killed, just as Andromache bids farewell to Hector. Raglan says there is a similar scene in the Indonesian version of the epic. An incident reminiscent of the original ritual, which took place on a sacred mound bearing the tree of life, is the despatch of Hanuman to the holy mountain to fetch magic herbs which will restore Lakshmana to life.²⁶ The cycle is completed when Rama exiles Sita, and she bears twin sons, Lava and Kusha. In Krittibasa's poem the boys, not knowing that he is their father, defeat and kill Rama.²⁷

The story of Vali in the Kishkindha Kanda of the *Ramayana* seems to be a brief version of the same original. King Vali went into a cave to slay a monster and spent a year underground. Meanwhile his brother Sugriva usurped his throne and married his queen. Vali returned and defeated Sugriva, who fled for refuge to a holy mountain. He challenged Vali again, and, after an initial defeat, prevailed, took the throne, and once more married Vali's queen. Before the fatal encounter, the queen pronounced a mournful farewell.²⁸

²⁶ *Ramayana*, VI. 64.

²⁷ Mazumdar, *Ramayana*, II. 155-56, 256-57.

²⁸ *Ramayana*, IV. 16.

This is the only version of the story in which the heroine's chastity is compromised; and Valmiki takes the sting out of it by making Vali and Sugriva monkeys. In a similar way Valmiki's and all the other popular versions show Rama and Sita as unrelated, and Rama and Ravana as unrelated, while only in the Bengali version, so far as I know, do Lava and Kusha kill Rama. In the original ritual the hero commits parricide and incest; in accordance with the narcissistic norm, the Indian versions eliminate both.

Yama and Yami

In some of the stories which appear to derive from this ritual, the brother and sister who become king and queen are twins. Yama and Yami were twins, and as in the ritual, Yami took the initiative in proposing intercourse. Yama, however, rejected her advances.²⁹

Pandavas and Kauravas

King Vasu of Chedi was a powerful royal sage. The river which flowed near his capital was embraced by a living mountain. Vasu kicked the mountain, and the river emerged from the hole made by his foot. But it had been impregnated by the mountain, and gave birth to twins. Vasu made the boy commander of his army, and married the girl, Girika. Vasu had to go away at once, but then, overcome by desire, shed seed. He called a bird and told it to take the seed to Girika, but on the way the bird dropped it in the Yamuna river, where it was swallowed by an Apsaras who had been cursed to live there as a fish. She gave birth to human twins. The boy became a king, and the girl, Satyavati, was adopted by a fisherman. One day she met the Rishi Parashara and gave birth to a boy, who lived on an island with his father, became a Rishi, and was named Krishna Dwaipayana.³⁰

Shantanu, emperor of the world, married the Goddess Ganga. She drowned eight sons soon after their birth, but allowed the ninth to live. She then left Shantanu, but the son, Bhishma, stayed with him. Shantanu wished to marry Satya-

²⁹ *Rigveda*, X. 1.10.

³⁰ *MBh.*, Adi P. LXIII. 35-85.

vati, but her adoptive father stipulated that her son must succeed to the throne. In deference to his father, Bhishma renounced the throne and vowed never to procreate.

Shantanu had two sons by Satyavati. Chitrangada died unmarried. Vichitravirya married two wives, Ambika and Ambalika, but after seven years died of sexual excess without children. His half-brother, Krishna Dwaipayana, was appointed to beget children for him. The elder son, Dhritarashtra, was born blind. The younger, Pandu, became king and a great conqueror. He married two wives. The elder, Kunti, had already had a child by the Sun-God: she put the baby in a basket and set it afloat on a river; a couple of low birth rescued it and brought up the child, who became the great warrior Karna and returned to fight his half-brothers. Before he could get any children, Pandu killed a deer which was coupling; it was a Rishi, who pronounced a curse that if he touched either of his wives he would die. The wives appealed to the Gods and gave birth to the five Pandavas, the eldest of whom, Yudhishtira, became world emperor.

Dhritarashtra married Gandhari, who gave birth to a ball of flesh. Bhishma cut this into a hundred and one parts, which grew into a hundred sons and a daughter. The eldest of these sons, born on the same day as Bhima, the second of the Pandavas, who was destined to kill him, was Duryodhana, the villain of the story. The instructor of the cousins was Drona, who took the side of the Kauravas. The Pandavas could not hope to defeat him, so they had a sacrifice performed, and from the fire-altar was born Drishtadyumna, powerful enough to defeat Drona, and his twin sister Draupadi, whom the five Pandavas married in common.³¹

It is a reasonable assumption that the stories of the mountain impregnating the river and producing twins, the fish producing twins, the blind king producing twins, though the son was divided into a hundred, and the fire-altar producing twins, derive from the creation ritual of Raglan, in which a mound, an altar, a river, and twin siblings occur in each generation. Bhishma's birth from a river goddess, and Krishna Dwaipa-

³¹ MBh., Adi P. XCVII-CXXIV.

yana's birth on an island probably come from the same origin. Bhishma, Vichitravirya, Dhritarashtra, and Pandu all suffer castration, symbolically or in effect. The war can be regarded as an elaborated version of the conflict between the divine king and his father, which became the war between the Chakravartin and his predestined enemy. But it preserved something of its original character, for the central problem, moral and military, of the war was how to defeat the "grandfather," Bhishma. In the version of this war which forms the subject of the *Ramayana*, it is fought in order to rescue the son-hero's wife, who has been abducted by the villain-father. A trace of this remains in the *Mahabharata*, for the Kauravas seized Draupadi and tore her clothes off, and this incident was an important cause of the hostility between the cousins. E. W. Hopkins pointed out that the *Iliad*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Mahabharata* resemble each other in regard to the abduction theme.³²

Though preserving much that is primitive, the story has undergone adaptation to narcissistic feeling. In order to allow his father to remarry, Bhishma in effect castrates himself. Vichitravirya suffers death at the hands of fate for his sexual presumption. Pandu suffers castration for an Oedipal attack on a father-figure, a Rishi. In the war the great moral problem is the defeat and death of Bhishma. The narrator adopts many devices to soften this crime. He emphasises its enormity, indeed, by making it impossible: Bhishma enjoys the boon of invincibility. But he can choose to die. He remains undefeated, but after ten days of fighting he decides that the time has come to depart. Arjuna at first refuses to fight, but Krishna persuades him to do so. Then in the front of the attack the Pandavas put Sikhandin, who was born a girl but underwent a change of sex; on this ground Bhishma scorns to ward off his attack. Sikhandin inflicts the first wounds, and Arjuna follows up. When eventually Bhishma falls, he makes it clear that he has forgiven Arjuna. Both armies assemble to pay him their respects. He gives long discourses on moral and political themes, until at last, 30,000

³² *Cambridge History of India*, I. 264.

verses later, he dies. Finally, Arjuna has to atone for his sin by suffering death at the hands of his own son. The Naga princess Ulupi, Arjuna's wife, hears the Vasus, Bhishma's brothers, declare that Arjuna will go to hell unless he suffers in this way. She therefore arranges that he shall be killed. When Babhruvahana has done the deed he prepares to starve himself to death, but Ulupi restores Arjuna to life.³³ All this testifies to the difficulty felt even at that time in allowing a hero to kill one who stood to him as a father.

Shunahshepa

Harishchandra, the son of a king, wished for a son. He was advised to promise Varuna that if he obtained a son he would sacrifice him to the God. Varuna granted his request on that condition. A son, Rohita, was born, but when Varuna asked for it, Harishchandra put him off with a series of excuses until the boy was old enough to bear arms. Then at last the father asked his son to agree to be sacrificed, but the boy fled to the forest. Varuna therefore punished Harishchandra with dropsy. When Rohita heard of his father's affliction he came back, but Indra in the form of a Brahman told him not to give himself up. A year later Rohita returned, but Indra again told him to go away. After he had thus attempted five times to give himself up, he met a Brahman named Ajigarta, with his wife and three sons, who were starving. Rohita offered to buy one of the sons for a hundred cows. Ajigarta refused to sell the eldest, and his wife refused to part with the youngest, but they sold Shunahshepa. Varuna agreed to accept him in Rohita's place, saying that a Brahman is higher than a Kshatriya. The priests refused to bind Shunahshepa to the sacrificial post. Ajigarta offered to do this for another hundred cows, and his offer was accepted. Then the priests refused to slay the victim, and Ajigarta offered to do this for another hundred cows. He stood holding the knife but Shunahshepa began to pray to the Gods, and at each verse that he uttered, one of his bonds was loosed and Harishchandra's belly became less swollen. At last he

³³ *MBh.*, Ashwamedha P. LXXIX-LXXXI

was free and Harishchandra was whole. Ajigarta asked for the return of his son, but the boy refused to go back to him, saying that his father had been ready to kill him for three hundred cows, and that such a deed could never be undone.³⁴

Raglan guesses that the legend of Abraham's attempt to sacrifice his son Isaac and the substitution of a ram for the human victim derives from the creation ritual, and this story may come from the same source; but its interest for us is in the psychological contrast it presents. The Kshatriyas, Harishchandra and Rohita, show the kind of father-son relations which are typical in narcissistic families, while the Brahmans present almost a model of the attitudes, conscious and unconscious, which prevail in punitive families. It may be recalled that tradition associates the narcissistic philosophy of the Upanishads with Kshatriyas. The moral of the story is driven home by a poem on the necessity and blessing of a son, and by giving the Brahmans opprobrious names. Ajigarta means snake, and the three sons are Shunahpucha, dog's tail, Shunahshepa, dog's penis, and Shunahlangula, also dog's tail.³⁵

Ganesha

Mr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya says that gana means the people, and Ganesha or Ganapati, lord of the people, was the chief of a clan which had the elephant for its totem and defeated or absorbed another clan which had the mouse or rat for its totem. This explains how a man with an elephant's head became a god, and why he is depicted standing or riding on the mouse or rat.³⁶

There probably were clans with the elephant as their totem, and similarly a number of mouse clans. But it is not likely that the victory of an elephant clan over a mouse clan was a common event or became widely known, and it is difficult to see how it produced a god who is popular all over India. Nor is it common for an ordinary chief to become a god.

³⁴ *Aitareya Br.*, VII. 13-18.

³⁵ Dumezil (*Flamen-Brahman*, 69, 97), however, points out that the reference to three dogs in the names of the sons links the story to various themes in folklore and in the Roman religion.

³⁶ Chattopadhyaya, *Lokayata*, ch. 3.

It is more likely that the original form of Ganesha was a figure in the ritual system which spread over India and developed into the political-religious system which we know as Hinduism. Hocart says that in the Egyptian coronation ceremony priests wore masks to impersonate animal-headed gods; kings came to resemble gods by dressing like a god or wearing a mask; in some initiation rituals, those initiated wore counterfeit heads of animals; initiation ceremonies are popularised forms of the ceremonies of installation of kings.³⁷ Bands of initiated young men wearing animal masks recall the Greek Kouretes and the Roman Luperci. The Luperci performed an annual rite, in which two bands of young men of the Equestrian order, corresponding to the Kshatriyas, ran naked about Rome beating women with goatskin whips. This was supposed to make the women pregnant. Before the men set out, goats were sacrificed, and the foreheads of the chiefs of the two bands were touched with the blood-stained knife. The observance was connected with the legend of the Sabine women. When Romulus brought these women to Rome he found that they were barren. He consulted an oracle, who replied that a goat would make them pregnant; an augur interpreted this to mean that they would conceive if beaten with goatskin whips.

Dumézil points out an analogy between the Luperci and the Gandharvas. Men could become Gandharvas by initiation; they had horses' heads; and their violence, sexual activity, and magical powers suggest that they were a band of initiated young men of the well-known type.³⁸

Probably, in its relevant occurrences, the word *gana* means a band of initiated young men who took part in certain rituals wearing elephant masks. Ganesha was originally a leader of such a band. His icons, with the trunk and the single tusk, are generally recognised as phallic, and this accords with the character of these groups. This account is also in agreement with the facts, mentioned by Chattopadhyaya, that the early sources betray hatred and fear of him, that he undergoes a sudden transformation from demon to god, that early icons

³⁷ Hocart, *Kingship*, pp. 85, 136, 142, 145, 158.

³⁸ Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*, pp. 30-34.

show him nude, that in the earlier sources Ganapati is referred to in the plural, and that some of the ganas had no marriage system but acted upon mutual attraction. It may also account for the fact that he is depicted as red and sometimes carries a red banner: red is the Kshatriya colour.

When the ritual system here assumed was developing, the people from whom the ganas derived must have been looked upon as primitive, although now accepted into society, for the ganas are depicted as short and fat, as is Ganesha himself. The leader of such a band would be the son of a chief, and Ganesha is always a young god, and the son of Shiva and Parvati. Hocart remarks that in this ritual system the birth of the king's son is in some way irregular. This is the case with Ganesha. Of the legends known to me only one represents him as born in a more or less normal way: Shiva and Parvati turned themselves into elephants and in that form produced Ganesha. According to the other legends, Shiva produced Ganesha by the power of thought from his forehead, and Parvati in jealousy cursed him to have an elephant's head; or Parvati produced him from the dirt of her skin, or from her faeces.³⁹

An alternative account of the origin of his elephant head may be a relic of the conflict in the ritual system between father and son, and of the marriage of the son to the mother. Parvati went to bathe, and stationed Ganesha at the door, telling him to let nobody in. Shiva wanted to enter; Ganesha tried to stop him; there was a fight, and Shiva cut off his head, which was replaced by that of an elephant. In other legends there was a fight when Ganesha already had his elephant's head, and Shiva broke off one tusk. Alternatively, Parashurama wanted to enter and Ganesha prevented him, and in the ensuing fight Parashurama threw his axe, which he had obtained from Shiva; Ganesha, seeing that it was his father's axe, was restrained by filial piety from defending himself, and it cut off one of his tusks. He is almost always shown with only one tusk. The cutting off of the head and the tusk are fairly clear symbols of castration. All versions

³⁹ Getty, *Ganesha*, pp. 6-8; *Matsya P.*, CLIV. 500-505.

accord with the principle that in a narcissistic culture the father must prevail, although the original situation was the reverse.

The old sources contain a number of legends referring to the Oedipus theme but having no apparent connection with the divine king cult. Some of these will be briefly set forth.

Dirghatamas

While trying to persuade Ambika and Ambalika to agree to niyoga, i.e. to be impregnated by a man appointed by the family for the purpose, Bhishma quoted the story of Dirghatamas. A fuller version of this story is as follows. The sage Brihaspati desired his elder brother's wife, Mamata. She protested that she was pregnant, that he was one whose seed never goes in vain, and that the embryo, which already knew all the Vedas, would not allow his seed to grow in her womb; he should therefore wait till she had delivered. Nevertheless he insisted, but the embryo cried out and prevented him from fulfilling his desire. Brihaspati therefore cursed the embryo with blindness. It was duly born blind, and so was named Dirghatamas, deep darkness. However, the boy grew up a great sage. One day an ox, by way of a boon, explained to him the law of cattle, viz. that they observe no restraint in regard to either property or sex. He resolved to adopt this law, and practised it at the expense of his nephew's wife, who was pregnant. She rebuked him for his incestuous act, and put him in a wooden box, which she threw into the Ganges. It came to land in the realm of king Bali, who released him. Dirghatamas offered a boon, and Bali, whom Vishnu had forbidden to procreate, desired the sage to beget progeny on the queen. She disliked the old, blind man, and sent her servant, on whom he begot several children, but the king insisted. Dirghatamas then told her that she could become pregnant if she would rub his body with a mixture of salt, curds, and honey, and then lick it off. She did so, but omitted to lick the testicles. He warned her that her son would lack that part. She appealed to his mercy. He replied that it must be so, but her son would not feel the necessity of the missing part. She obtained five sons of divine

beauty and excellence. The heavenly cow Surabhi said to him, "I am pleased with you as you have followed the cattle law. The sin of Brihaspati is inherent in you, but I relieve you of old age, death, and blindness by smelling you."⁴⁰

The first part of the story contains two different themes. One is the familiar Oedipus conflict, which here goes somewhat beyond the narcissistic norm. Surabhi's words permit us to regard Brihaspati as the father; he quarrels with the son over possession of the mother, has to submit to frustration by the son, and blinds (castrates) him. The other is a more specifically narcissistic theme: the protest of the son, who in fantasy inhabits his mother's womb, at the trespass into that domain of an unauthorised person. This fantasy plays an important part in forming the Hindu pollution complex. (See the chapter on Caste.)

The second part satisfies the desire to achieve identification with the mother by self-castration and return to the womb, which in the first part is expressed by the embryo speaking from the womb—a common event in old Indian stories. Bali and Dirghatamas preserve the fully narcissistic family relation: both observe restraint and avoid conflict. Bali asks Dirghatamas to impregnate the queen, and he does so by a virgin birth technique which cannot arouse the husband's jealousy. Salt, curds, and honey all stand for semen, and the queen is impregnated with them through the mouth, in accordance with a common infantile birth theory. The mouth, however, is also identified with the sex organ, and the licking undoubtedly represents the return to the womb. In order to identify with the mother, the son has to be castrated, and the licking achieves this. The embryo, it is specifically said, will be a castrated one. In the end, therefore, Dirghatamas triumphs through the narcissistic technique of surrender, of returning to the womb; and the divine mother rewards him by renewing his youth and treating him like a baby, placing him on her lap, as it were, and smelling him. (Indra takes Arjuna, his son, upon his knee and smells his head.⁴¹ It is,

⁴⁰ *Matsya P.*, XLVIII, 32-82.

⁴¹ *MBh.*, Vana P. XLIII, 21.

or was, a common gesture, which probably recalled the intimate dependence of the child.)

Kacha and Shukra

The Rishi Shukra, teacher of the Asuras, was the only being who knew the spell which restores the dead to life. A young Brahman, Kacha, became his pupil with the purpose of learning the spell on behalf of the Devas. Shukra entertained him as a pupil but would not divulge the spell. He had a daughter, Devayani, who fell in love with Kacha, and repeatedly brought him back to life by pleading with her father to pronounce the spell over his corpse. Finally Kacha was burnt, and Shukra swallowed the ashes. Devayani persuaded her father to teach the spell to the ashes in his stomach. He did so, and Kacha revived and burst forth, killing Shukra; but he pronounced the spell, so that the Rishi also returned to life. Having achieved his purpose of learning the spell, Kacha wanted to leave. Devayani asked him to marry her, but he refused.⁴²

These events are reminiscent of the dispute between Brahma and Narada narrated above: a narcissistic inversion of the Oedipus conflict. The son fights the father, not for possession of the mother but for the power of chastity. The spell which restores to life is the permanent phallus, the magic wand. The son seizes it from the father by tearing his stomach open, i.e. castrating him. In the punitive version of the Oedipus conflict he would then take the woman. But in the narcissistic milieu the nature of the prize forbids this: he has the choice of using it as sex organ or as magic wand.

Yayati

Devayani and the princess Sarmishtha quarrelled, and Sarmishtha pushed her into a well. King Yayati came by and pulled her out. Devayani complained to Sarmishtha's father, and as punishment the princess was made her servant. Since she had touched Yayati's hand, Devayani wished to marry him. Shukra, her father, agreed, but stipulated that Yayati

⁴² *Matsya P.*, XXV. 15-XXVI. 8.

must not take Sarmishtha to his bed. However, when he had had two sons by Devayani, he proceeded to have three by Sarmishtha. Devayani complained to Shukra, who cursed Yayati to immediate senility. The king begged for mercy, and obtained the concession that he might exchange his old age for the youth of some young man. Yayati told his eldest son that he wished to enjoy life in the company of young women for some time yet, and therefore proposed to exchange his senility for the boy's youth. The son refused. He made the same proposal to all his sons, in turn, but only the youngest, Puru, agreed. Yayati cursed his four elder sons, exchanged his age for Puru's youth for a thousand years, and then, when that period was over, gave his youth back to Puru and made him king.⁴³

The narcissistic principle is that when the struggle is for the permanent phallus the son may succeed, but when, as in this story, it is a struggle for a woman, the father must succeed. Shukra castrates Yayati. Similarly, when the struggle is for the phallus as sex organ, the father is successful. Yayati disinherits his four elder sons and takes his youth from the youngest.

The youngest son occupies a special place in folklore and in psychology. He is less likely than his elder siblings to witness his parents' intercourse, no younger sibling diverts his parents' love from him, and he is treated more indulgently in later years. He is the son whose conflict with his father is most muted, and he is the most narcissistic member of the family. In the Rakshasa family of Vishravas and Kaikasi, the elder sons Ravana and Kumbhakarna and the daughter Shurpanakha are wicked, but the youngest son Vibhishana is good.⁴⁴ It is proper therefore that Puru, who yields totally to his father, should be the youngest son. Mr. Hamdi Bey, discussing the absence of the Oedipus theme and its influence from Indian literature, selects the Yayati legend as the most apt classical illustration, and speaks of the Hindus' "Puru complex."⁴⁵

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXVII-XXXIV.

⁴⁴ *Ramayana*, VII. 9-10.

⁴⁵ *Thought*, Delhi, 3, 8, 1957.

Parashurama

It is similarly appropriate that Parashurama is the youngest son of Jamadagni. However, in the Jain texts there is a simpler version in which he has no brothers. Jamadagni was a Brahman, but his wife Renuka was of a Kshatriya family. Jamadagni cooked for her a dish which would ensure the birth of an ideal Brahman. She asked him to cook for her sister, who had married a Kshatriya, a dish which would ensure the birth of an ideal Kshatriya. He did so, but Renuka interchanged the dishes, and gave birth to Parashurama, who though the son of a Brahman had the qualities of a Kshatriya. When Parashurama was a young man, Renuka went to visit her sister, and was impregnated by her brother-in-law. When she came home with the baby, Parashurama saw her and immediately killed both mother and child. There followed a family feud, in which Jamadagni and eventually Parashurama were killed.⁴⁶

The versions in the Epic and the Puranas differ in several ways. Renuka was renowned for virtue, but one day she looked with interest at a handsome man or a Gandharva. On her return home Jamadagni divined that she had sinned, and ordered his eldest son to kill her. He refused. Three other sons likewise refused, but the youngest, Parashurama, obeyed. Jamadagni cursed his four elder sons to lose their reason, and Parashurama cut off his mother's head. Jamadagni offered him a boon. He asked that his mother's life and his brothers' wits should be restored, and these requests were granted. A Kshatriya killed his father; Parashurama vowed to be the scourge of the Kshatriyas, and killed them all twenty one times over.⁴⁷

In the Jain version the father takes no part in the climax of the story. The self-effacement of the father seems to be characteristic of the narcissistic family situation. In the *Mahabharata* Shakuntala says, "The learned men of old say that the husband himself, entering into the womb of his wife, comes out as the son... a man whose wife has given birth to

⁴⁶ Chauthmal, *Bhagwan Mahavir*, p. 94.

⁴⁷ *BMh.*, Vana P., CXVI. In the *Bhagavata P.* (IX.16.5) Jamadagni ordered Parashurama to cut off his four brothers' heads, and he did so.

a son should look upon her as his mother.”⁴⁸ The intense cathexis upon the semen characteristic of the narcissist leads to an identification with the son which is more complete than is the case with the punitive father. When the son becomes adult, therefore, the father tends to retire from the world, and to look upon his wife as his mother. This tendency is of course reinforced by the mother fixation, which reasserts itself when the love for the wife becomes less genital. These feelings are expressed in the institution of vanaprastha, retirement from active life and the observance of continence, traditionally commenced upon the birth of the first grandson.

Parashurama is the product of a narcissistic culture. His situation is like that of Hamlet. He is fixated on his mother, and the revelation of her sin wounds him so deeply that he acts like a wronged husband who murders his wife and the baby. It is possible, too, that the punishment he inflicts on her symbolises his situation. Severing the head of a man is always held to represent castration, the talion punishment of the son by the father and the mode of attack of the son upon the father. It may be that a son who cuts off his sinful mother's head acts in a way symbolic of the incest which unconsciously he wished to commit.

In the epic and puranic versions of this legend there is less stress upon Parashurama's fixation on his mother, whose sin is in any case less dramatic. The father plays the main part; the son does the deed at his father's order, and, having done it, promptly has it undone. This weakening of the story confirms the view expressed elsewhere that the Jain psyche is a purer or more extreme representative of the narcissistic type than the Hindu psyche.

Shvetaketu

Trying to persuade Kunti to get a son by another man, Pandu told her a story about Shvetaketu, a Rishi who figures in the Upanishads. In former times women were under no restraint and enjoyed themselves as they pleased. One day, in the presence of Shvetaketu and his father Uddalaka, a Brahman took his mother by the hand, and she went away

⁴⁸ *MBh.*, Adi P., LXXIV. 35, 47.

with him. The son was angry and sorrowful. The father explained that she had acted in accordance with custom. "O son, men in this matter, as regards (according to?) their respective orders, act like cattle." Shvetaketu was not appeased and laid down a new law, that henceforth an unfaithful wife, a husband unfaithful to a chaste and loving wife, and a wife who should refuse to raise offspring by another man when her husband has ordered her to do so, would all be guilty of a sin equivalent to causing the death of an embryo.⁴⁹

This legend confirms the view that in the narcissistic family the father tends to efface himself. But the new law promulgated by Shvetaketu is also in accordance with the narcissistic norms, and recalls the suggestion made above that the self-immolation of the widow upon her husband's death may have been due in part to the feeling of her sons. Generally, it is probable that male narcissism will tend to lower the status of women, and Shvetaketu's law bears this out.

Prahlada

The *Vishnu Purana* says that Hiranyakashipu, Ravana, and Shishupala were incarnations of the same soul. This does not prove that the legends about them come from a common source, but in fact, like the original of the story of Rama and Ravana, the story of Prahlada is that of a son in rebellion against his father. He refused to worship his father Hiranyakashipu and insisted on worshipping Narayana (Vishnu). His father persecuted him fiercely, but Prahlada prayed to Narayana and was saved from every attack. Eventually Narayana assumed the form of a man-lion, who emerged suddenly from a pillar in the palace and killed Hiranyakashipu; the *Bhagavata Purana* says that he did so by tearing out the Asura's heart with his claws.⁵⁰ On the other hand, in the *Vishnu Purana*, Prahlada's prayers and humility won over Hiranyakashipu, who repented and begged his son's forgiveness. That the man-lion killed him is mentioned briefly and in abstract terms.⁵¹

The emergence of the man-lion from a pillar, and its mode

⁴⁹ *MBh.*, Adi P. CXXII. 6-19.

⁵⁰ *Bhagavata P.* VII. 8.31.

⁵¹ *Vishnu P.* I.17-20.

of attack, may point back to an original in which the son castrated his father. But that has been long forgotten, and the version in the *Vishnu Purana* is so moralised that Mahatma Gandhi held up Prahlada as the archetypal satyagrahi. Thus, again, the facts suggest an evolution from a story typical of a punitive culture to a form characteristic of a narcissistic culture.

Satyavrnata

Satyavrata, son of king Trayaruna of Ayodhya, refused to allow his marriage ceremony to be properly performed, and then took the wife of a citizen. His father therefore expelled him from the kingdom and told him to live with the Chandalas, the lowest caste. At the same time his father retired to perform penance in the forest. On account of Satyavrata's sin, no rain fell for twelve years. Vashishtha, Trayaruna's chief priest, secretly wished Satyavrata well but made no sign. Satyavrata's wrath therefore rose against the Rishi, and he slew his magic cow and made friends with Vashishtha's enemy Vishvamitra. Vashishtha therefore called him Trishanku, meaning three spears, i.e. three sins—incurring his father's displeasure, killing his guru's cow, and eating forbidden meat. Vishvamitra raised him to the throne, and then raised him bodily to heaven.⁵² His adventures as Trishanku are narrated in other places. Indra would not accept him in heaven and hurled him down again. He cried out to Vishvamitra to save him, and the Rishi held him up. He therefore remains suspended in mid-air, head downward.⁵³

The dispute with his father is in part over a woman, but Satyavrata's hostility to his father's guru, his association with the subversive Vishvamitra, who raises him to the throne, and his presumption in trying to go to heaven in the body, make it fairly clear that originally he fought for power and expelled his father from the kingdom. But in the version that survives, adapted to narcissistic feeling, his father gains the victory. Moreover, suspension upside down may probably be interpreted to mean that he is castrated; he hangs down instead of standing erect. The poet Eliot uses this image:

⁵² *Harivamsha*, XII-XIII.

⁵³ *Ramayana*, I. LX.

And upside down in air were towers
 Tolling reminiscent bells, that kept the hours
 And voices singing out of empty cisterns and exhausted wells.

The reference is to Eastern Europe after the first World War, when several kings were overthrown; such an event is a national self-castration. In the chapter on Village Goddesses three legends (38, 47, 76) are cited in which men are turned upside down; in each, this meaning is appropriate. The twelve years drought, which is a consequence of Satyavrata's sin, has the same meaning. It will be noticed that though Trayaruna is victorious, he behaves like Brahma after his dispute with Narada, and retires from the scene.

Kshanitra and others

The *Markandeya Purana* gives some legends of dynastic disputes, all of which broadly resemble this. Kshanitra was the Chakravartin, the world emperor, and his four brothers ruled the four quarters under him. A minister persuaded them to rebel against him, and their priests by magic produced some female demons who attacked Kshanitra. But he was free from sin, so they could not harm him. The demons therefore turned upon the priests and the minister and killed them. The narrative does not say that the brothers were killed. The king, when he heard of the event, placed his son upon the throne and retired to the forest.

King Dishthi had a son, Nabhaga, who married a Vaishya's daughter without having first married a Kshatriya's daughter. A dispute therefore arose, and they fought a war, in which the son at first prevailed. But then a sage pointed out that by marrying a Vaishya woman, Nabhaga had become a Vaishya, and it was therefore improper for Dishthi to fight him. Nabhaga then withdrew from the contest.

Nabhaga had a son, Bhanandana, who later fought and won the kingdom. He offered it to his father, who, however, refused it on the ground that he was a Vaishya. It was then discovered that his wife was not a Vaishya, as had been supposed, so there was no disability. But Nabhaga still refused the throne, and Bhanandana ruled.

Avikshita relinquished the throne to his son Marutta and retired to the forest. The Nagas killed some ascetics, and Marutta's grandmother appealed to him to avenge them. He did so. The surviving Nagas fled to Avikshita, citing a former promise by him to protect them. Avikshita took up arms again, and confronted his son. But some holy men intervened, restored the ascetics to life, and made peace.⁵⁴

If a clash occurs, the rule in the narcissistic society is that the father or elder brother must win. But it is usually preferred to avoid a conflict, and these last three legends illustrate how that may be done. The intervention of a third party is a favourite device; Carstairs says that the mediator is such a stock figure that he often appears in dreams.⁵⁵

The frequency of retirement to the forest will have been noticed. In the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, Udayana retires and allows Naravahanadatta to take the throne, and in a dozen or more of the emboxed stories the same thing happens, sometimes as soon as the son is married, sometimes when the father is old, sometimes when he still retains strength or is capable of enjoyment (chs. 35, 41, 51, 52, 69, 70, 71, 74, 93, 101, 103, 109, 111, 119 twice, 120).

In the other Puranas and elsewhere there must be many more stories bearing on this theme. Those given above, however, are probably a fair sample, and their implication seems to be uniform. They testify not merely to a repression of the Oedipus conflict, but to a systematic change in its substance, so that it becomes acceptable to the narcissistic psychic type.

⁵⁴ *Markandeya P.*, CXVII-CXVIII, CXIII, CXIV, CXXIX-CXXXI.

⁵⁵ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, p. 47.

Chapter 7

CASTE

A PSYCHOLOGICAL theory of the special character of Hinduism must attempt to give an account of the outstanding peculiarity of the Hindu social system. The theory of narcissism and the resulting semen complex supplies a more satisfactory explanation of caste than has been derived from any other set of assumptions hitherto.

Kinship

The outward libidinal cathexis of the narcissistic psyche will tend more markedly than that of the punitive to be restricted to persons with whom the subject readily identifies himself. These will be in the first place blood relations or people who are regarded as such. Among the well-known characters in European history whom one picks out as narcissistic, several are known to have had incestuous attachments. Ernest Jones mentions Shelley and Nietzsche as narcissists. Shelley fell in love with his cousin, was strongly attached to his sister, and showed an uncommon interest in the subject of incest. Nietzsche was strongly attached to his sister, and is now known to have had physical relations with her. Byron, who was clearly narcissistic, is believed to have had such relations with his half-sister; and Wordsworth, who was also clearly of this psychic type, made his sister his lifelong companion.

Incestuous intercourse is probably less common in India than in Europe, but the conscious horror of incest seems to be less intense than it has been in Europe in the past. This is not, of course, to say that no such horror is felt. The story is reported from Nasik of two Kunbi brothers who saw a woman at a distance and each thought it was his wife, but it was in fact their sister. They were so shame-stricken that they lit a

fire and jumped into it, and their sister followed them.¹ This story may hint at the exceptionally strong attachment between brothers and sisters, of which there can be no doubt. Nivedita noticed it, as did Stevenson, Carstairs, and Cormack.²

At the annual feast of Rakshabandhan, sisters tie coloured thread round their brothers' wrists, and brothers visit married sisters for a meal and an exchange of presents.³ This custom prevails over a large part of northern India. On Bhratri Dvitiya, the second day after Divali, sisters feed brothers, exchange presents with them, and mark their foreheads.⁴ This is done in commemoration of Yama and Yamuna or Yami, who were twins. Yami approached Yama for intercourse but he rejected her; according to another story they were the progenitors of mankind. In Gujerat similar customs are observed on different days.⁵ In Maharashtra on Manasa Panchami worship is offered to snakes: a boy was killed by a snake when gathering flowers for his sister, but she prayed to the snake-goddess Manasa, who restored him to life.⁶ Haldar notes sculptural representations of Shiva's daughter Bhattasali together with the linga and yoni, and infers an unconscious wish for incest with the sister.⁷ The commonest term of abuse in North India is one which accuses a man of incestuous relations with his sister; somewhat less common but frequently used words accuse a man of such relations with his mother and with his daughter. These usages probably point to repressed feelings of uncommon intensity.

In a considerable number of the tribes and lower castes studied by Thurston, boys were commonly married to girls much their senior; until the husband became adult, the wife cohabited with his relatives. In others, wives allowed access to the husband's brothers, or there was formal marriage to a group of brothers. Marriage to the deceased husband's brother was very common. In a few instances, divorce and remarriage

¹ Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, p. 156.

² Nivedita, *Web of Indian Life*, p. 52; Stevenson, *Rites*, p. 268; Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, p. 70; Cormack, *Hindu Woman*, p. 19.

³ Mukerji, *Hindu Fasts*, p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵ Stevenson, *Rites*, p. 304.

⁶ Underhill, *Religious Year*, p. 125.

⁷ Haldar in *Ind. J. of Psychology*, (1938).

were freely allowed, and in some, what amounted to promiscuity within the family or even within the sub-caste was tolerated.⁸ Nanjundayya found that the remarriage of widows, and divorce and remarriage, were allowed in many Mysore castes, and that in many, adultery within the caste or tribe was usually condoned. Siraj al Hassan's study of the Hyderabad tribes and castes corroborates the other two authors. All this emphasises the close integration of the kin group. But most of these are primitive castes. In the higher castes the usages are more restrained, but the same sort of feelings can be detected. In perhaps a majority of the castes mentioned by Thurston, the bridegroom's sister takes an important part in the marriage ceremony: often she ties the tali. In quite a large number of castes the bride's brother takes some part in the ceremony. Professor Srinivas says that during the marriage of Mysore non-Brahmans the sister of the bridegroom extracts a promise from him that he will give his daughter in marriage to her son;⁹ such marriages often occur, though the marriage of orthocousins is condemned. Mr. Sri Prakasa says that in North Indian Hindu families the husband's sister, even if she is younger in years, enjoys a higher status than his wife.¹⁰ In South India generally, the preferred bride is a cross-cousin. Such couples will not have lived in the same household, but they will usually have known each other well from infancy. Srinivas says they usually come from the same village.¹¹ The rules of most castes forbid the marriage of closely related agnates but permit that of cognates, and marriages of close relatives are far more common than in the West. Despite the disapproval of the legal texts, marriage with the elder

⁸ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*; girls married to infants cohabit with husband's relatives among the Anuppan, I. 50; Kappiliyan, III. 217; Okkiliyan, V. 441; Tottiyen, VII. 186; Vallamban, VII. 301; Wynad Chetti, VII. 401. Promiscuity among Kapu, III. 242-48; Kota, IV. 14; Kunnuvan, IV. 122; Kurumba, IV. 169; Mutracha, V. 128; Odde, V. 423; Parivaram, VI. 158; Poraja, VI. 211; Satani, VI. 301. Brothers jointly marry one or more wives, Malayali Kammalan, III. 131; Kaniyan, III. 198; Muchevar, V. 92. Woman often marries many husbands in succession, Kallan, III. 77; Nalke, V. 146. Brother and sister cohabited formerly, Pulluvan, VI. 229. Widow marries her son, Kudiya, IV. 97.

⁹ Srinivas, *Marriage in Mysore*, p. 39.

¹⁰ Sri Prakasa in *Organiser* (Delhi, 15 April 1963).

¹¹ Srinivas, *Marriage in Mysore*, p. 31.

sister's daughter is customary in some Brahman sub-castes in South India.¹² Such marriages are also common among non-Brahmans. Even modern educated people are better acquainted with the remoter ramifications of their families than is normally the case in Europe. They also recognise an obligation to support and help a far wider circle of relatives. Family and tribal gods are still widely worshipped. The social and political organisation which prevailed until quite recently in Rajasthan was somewhat similar to European feudalism and is commonly called by that term; it differed, however, in principle from feudalism, which was established by contracts; the social order in Rajasthan was based on kinship.¹³

The endogamous group, usually called the sub-caste, normally numbers some tens of thousands. Any adult member will know quite an appreciable proportion of these, either personally or through family connections, and will recognise many as actual relatives. The sub-caste is fairly homogeneous in physical type, and in some areas, at any rate, the physical types of the various castes differ noticeably: many people claim, no doubt with some exaggeration, to be able to tell at sight the caste of any resident of their town or district. The domestic usages, language, etc., of a sub-caste conform closely to its standards but differ from those of all other sub-castes.

Psychologically, therefore, the sub-caste is a kinship group, and its solidarity and its segregation are due to that fact. Hindu narcissism, which tends to restrict libidinal cathexis to those with whom the subject readily identifies himself, i.e. blood-kin, helps to explain how it is that caste has flourished. How caste originated is, of course, quite a different question. Hocart's theory seems to be the most plausible.¹⁴ But, given

¹² Karve, *Hindu Society*, pp. 23-4.

¹³ P. Saran, *Studies in Indian Mediaeval History* (Delhi: 1952), p. 17.

¹⁴ According to this theory, castes were originally the groups of kin of the participants in the state rituals. These groups were taboo to each other because each man's ritual function endowed him with a distinct kind or degree of magical potency. Since many ritual functions corresponded to economic functions, many castes became occupational groups. The untouchables were those whose ritual functions dealt with the dead. The identity or similarity of the state ritual system explains the simila-

the system, the question how it has lasted so long has also to be answered.

The mother fixation in relation to caste

Flugel propounds a scheme of psychic evolution which he attributes to Wundt and Muller-Lyer. It distinguishes four phases: (1) the primitive family phase, in which the father is supreme; (2) the totemic or clan phase, in which the authority of the father is replaced by that of a group of elders or of the mother's brother, descent is traced in the female line, and so forth; (3) the phase of the larger tribe or state, in which the authority of the father is re-established; (4) the phase of the individual and of humanity. Freud's revolt of the sons against the father brings about the transition from (1) to (2). In (2) the strict discipline formerly enforced by the father gives way to greater liberty and equality; children are favoured as against parents; the mother fixation replaces the father fixation; the status of women rises; sexual restraints are relaxed; class distinctions weaken; conventional morality weakens; property loses some of its importance. The transition to phase (3) reverses some of these changes.

Flugel is not entirely convinced of the validity of this evolutionary scheme. The argument of the present book is opposed to any universal unilinear evolutionary theory. However, subject to reservations, Hindu society, as regards its uneducated majority, may be placed in phase (2) and the transition from (2) to (3). As will be seen, in India this transition seems to be bound up with the acquisition of the semen complex, or perhaps with a great change in that complex. This transition, from institutions inspired by the desire to acquire semen for the community, to institutions dominated by the compulsion to safeguard the semen against contamination by alien semen, seems to coincide with the transition from the mother-centred to the father-centred type of psyche, and

ity of the caste structure all over India. Conquered or assimilated tribes were taken in as endogamous groups, i.e. as new castes. Hence the differences of physical type as between castes, which are to be noticed in most areas, and have led many anthropologists to explain caste as a system of racial segregation. [See A. M. Hocart, *Caste* (London, 1950).]

from the tribe to the nation. This process has been going on for a very long time: the intellectual *élite* appears to have completed it 2,000 years ago, but there are probably communities which have not achieved it yet.

This persistence in phase (2) is partly due to caste. Most castes are former tribes. After acceptance into Hindu society, they have remained separate entities, which though co-operating with other castes in economic and some political matters, have remained cut off from all others by a set of magical prohibitions in regard to marriage, commensality, some rituals, and some internal political and legal functions: they are self-governing in certain respects and obey their own courts and leaders. Apparently, this partial but strict segregation has largely preserved the tribal mentality, so that much of Hindu society remains in phase (2).

The caste system regarded in this way, as a set of partially frozen tribes, would be in some degree self-perpetuating. Nevertheless, it is hard to suppose that the institution would have lasted as it has—for 3,000 years according to Senart—if the Hindu psychic type had not been specially congenial to it. "All castes," says Senart, "even the most despised, are animated by vanity and by a passion to be exclusive." "The Hindu mind...jealously upholds tradition and is singularly inaccessible to the joys of action and the call of material progress."¹⁵ Senart thus emphasises exclusiveness, the feeling of superiority, and conservatism, all features of narcissism, as those characteristics of the Hindu mind which have been responsible for preserving caste.

In his discussion of Roman and Hindu law, Maine lays stress on the trend towards equality in Rome as the factor which brought about the great divergence between the two systems. In his view, the principal influence in causing the change in European society from a system based on kinship, which is bound up with inequality, to one based on contract, which is in principle egalitarian, was the doctrine of the Law of Nature. After their conquest of Greece, the Romans assimilated Greek philosophical ideas, and the Stoic teaching

¹⁵ E. Senart, *Caste in India* (London, 1930), pp. 19, 110, 204.

became popular among the lawyers. The Law of Nature is a Stoic doctrine. It is the origin of the legal principle of equity. The Law of Nature was originally a physical principle of simplicity or symmetry, but it spread from the physical to the human, and became equated with *jus gentium*, the law of nations. "The neglect of demarcations and boundaries seems to me, therefore, the feature of the Jus Gentium which was depicted in Aequitas. I imagine that the word was at first a mere description of that constant *levelling* or removal of irregularities which went on wherever the praetorian system was applied to the cases of foreign litigants. Probably no colour of ethical meaning belonged at first to the expression; nor is there any reason to believe that the process which it indicated was otherwise than extremely distasteful to the primitive Roman mind...I know no reason why the law of the Romans should be superior to the laws of the Hindus, unless the theory of Natural Law had given it a type of excellence different from the usual one."¹⁶

Stoicism, a doctrine of withdrawal from the world and the cultivation of virtue as its own reward, is plainly narcissistic. Its ethical principles, so far as they are not merely subjective, are therefore idealistic. In the Law of Nature it upheld the complete equality of men. But this law came to be applied in Rome among punitives, whose aggressive spirit broke down the barriers between tribes, which the narcissistic society of India tolerates, despite the awareness of its best minds that inequality is contrary to principle. The situation may be compared with that in India in the early British period: the punitive newcomers put into effect principles which the narcissistic Hindu society had long known but had never bothered to enforce.

Maine may be right in saying that the non-Roman Law of Nature was an important factor in bringing about the change he mentions. But the trend towards equality applied to other matters besides the law. A long-term trend towards equality is probably characteristic of punitive society as such. A punitive ruling class of the better type will be stern but

¹⁶ H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law* (London, 1894), pp. 59-60, 78.

just, and will yield gradually to its subjects' demands if these are presented in ethical terms. It will be distasteful to them, as Maine says, but the punitive conscience is likely to prevail in the end. The subjects, on the other hand, if they are also of the punitive psychic type, will be in constant revolt against inequality and will maintain the necessary pressure on their rulers. Maine's remarks on Hindu and Roman law illustrate the contention of Dharendra Narain that the Hindu tactics of bowing before the blast are more successful from the conservative standpoint than the occidental tactics of rigid resistance.¹⁷ The paradox appears less striking, however, when it is realised that the punitive psyche contains in itself a powerful impulse to change in the positive Oedipus complex, the urge to rebel against the father, while the narcissistic psyche is relatively lacking in this impulse.

The general tendency of the narcissistic psyche towards conservatism is shown with special clarity in relation to caste because of its strong inclination towards attitudes of superiority. Schweitzer stresses this, and from the analytical standpoint he is right. The inward-directed libido inflates the ego and all with whom the ego identifies itself, in the first place the family and the sub-caste. No caste admits that it is without an inferior. The caste system is the narcissistic consciousness of superiority institutionalised.

Pollution

Members of a sub-caste are not only attached to the other members: they show a distaste for members of other sub-castes. This repulsion between castes must have been of importance in maintaining the rule against intermarriage, without respect for which the whole caste structure would quickly dissolve.

Apart from marriage and ritualistic matters, there are taboos on inter-caste eating and drinking, and in some cases on skin-contact. Tagore speaks of the "physical repulsion" between castes. Some of the other taboos, such as unapproachability and the avoidance of shadows, may have derived from the ban on skin-contact; the fact that a common remedy

¹⁷ Dharendra Narain, *Hindu Character*, p. 66.

for the pollution incurred in such ways is a bath suggests this.

In their traditional form, these prohibitions are magical, but it is plausible to relate them to the fear of pollution by others' body secretions, more especially by the saliva, a fear which is common in other cultures, but is especially intense among Hindus. The Indian languages have special words (Sanskrit *ucchishtha*, Hindi *juth*, Tamil *echal*, etc.) to indicate that food or utensils have been polluted by saliva; so far as I know, non-Indian languages are content with general words like *spoilt* or *dirty*. *Manu* says, "An earthen vessel which has touched wine, urine, faeces, spittle, pus, or blood cannot be made clean even by firing it again."¹⁸ Berkeley-Hill quotes a passage from the *Maitri Upanishad* which appeals to the fear of pollution by "bones, skin, sinews, marrow, flesh, seed, blood, mucus, tears, eye-gum, dung, urine, gall, and phlegm"; other such passages could be cited. Many Hindus generalise this fear so far that it embraces their own saliva: they will not use a toothbrush, because it is permanently polluted by use on a single occasion.

The fear extends to the body secretions of animals. In this form it is presumably the root of the prejudice against animal food which is so much more common among Hindus than in any other community. It is interesting that some of those occidentals whom we identify as narcissistic show a similar feeling. Shelley and Whitman took to vegetarianism; Whitman apparently from this cause.

The tissues of other people's and animals' bodies are evidently felt to compromise the integrity of the body in some way. The intense dislike shown by Hindus for deformity and visible symptoms of disease, mentioned above, recurs to mind here. The intensity of this fear among Hindus may be regarded as a direct outcome of narcissism, which values the self highly and therefore develops a special dislike of any interference with the integrity of the body. However, the particular type of interference with the integrity of the body which is so much disliked requires discussion.

Berkeley-Hill noticed the Hindu pollution complex and

¹⁸ *Manusmriti*, V. 123.

attributed it to anal erotism. But it is questionable whether the Hindus' dislike of faecal contamination is any more intense than that of other people. (See chapter on the Anal Factor.) Psycho-analysts would tend to ascribe an uncommonly intense fear of bodily injury to the castration complex. Professor Srinivas says that the lowest castes and tribes show the greatest fear of pollution by menstrual blood, whereas the higher castes are more or less indifferent to it.¹⁹ It is plausible to ascribe the fear of menstrual blood to unconscious castration-fear. The lowest castes would then be expected to show the most intense, and the highest castes the least intense, dislike of pollution by saliva, etc., whereas the opposite is the case. It is therefore not likely that the pollution complex can be attributed to castration-fear.

Semen and saliva

The castration complex is believed to arise in various ways, and not only as an outcome of the Oedipus complex. It is traced ultimately to a primæval fear of the division of the organism, which may express itself as fear of castration, but also as fear or dislike of the loss of semen. Hindus of course show the dislike of the loss of semen very conspicuously. The view maintained here is that the Hindu pollution complex arises from this dislike of the loss of semen.

In the unconscious, the mouth is closely associated with the sex-organ, and the saliva with the semen. These associations can be illustrated from mythology. Virabhadra was born from the mouth of Shiva. The Virashaiva legends say that the five progenitors of their community were born from the five mouths of Shiva, and that Basava's sister Nagalambika conceived by swallowing a seed which her brother had seen brought out of the ground by an ant.²⁰ It is related in the *Bhagavata Purana* that Aditi and Shraddha conceived as a result of observing the payovrata, i.e. living on milk for twelve days, and that Yuvanashva produced a son from the right side of his stomach as a result of drinking water

¹⁹ Srinivas, *Marriage in Mysore*, p. 132.

²⁰ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, IV. 92, 84.

which had been given the power of impregnation by spells.²¹ Parashurama, though a Brahman, had the nature of a Kshatriya because his mother ate a dish which had been prepared in such a way as to give her sister a son who would be a true Kshatriya. Parvati gave birth to Kumara by drinking from a lake which was the semen of Shiva.²² Sudeshna conceived by licking salt, curds, and honey from the body of Dirghatamas. Rama and his brothers were born as a result of their mothers drinking a heavenly draught.²³ There are a number of stories of the production of offspring from sweat, suggesting that the other body secretions are also associated with semen.²⁴ Ravana seized Vedavati by the hair; she cut off her hair and cried, "Soiled by thy contact, O vile Rakshasa, I shall throw myself into the fire."²⁵ Yayati took Devayani by the hand to help her out of a well, and was expected to marry her. In these instances skin contact is given a sexual meaning. Markandeya may hint at the association between the mouth and the sex-organ when, in describing the iniquity which prevails at the end of the Kaliyuga, he says that women's mouths serve the purpose of intercourse.²⁶ On the Varadaraja Perumal Temple at Kanchipuram is a sculptured figure of a man blowing a horn while engaged in the sex act.²⁷ His partner is in an acrobatic posture, and the curve of the horn and the curve of her body are symmetrically opposed, suggesting the equivalence of the mouth and the sex-organ. Many sculptured groups at Khajuraho and elsewhere show the equivalence of the mouth and the sex-organ by juxtaposing them.

It is a widespread custom for the bride and bridegroom on the wedding day to eat from the same leaf for the first and last time. Thurston records marriage ceremonies which still more definitely suggest an unconscious association of saliva and semen. During the marriage of the Maravans,

²¹ *Bhagavata P.*, VIII. 16-17; IX. 1. 14; IX. 6. 25-30.

²² *Matsya P.*, CLVIII. 37-41.

²³ *Ramayana*, VII. 17.

²⁴ E.g. *Matsya P.*, CLIV. 500-505.

²⁵ *Ramayana*, VII. 17.

²⁶ *MBh.* Vana P. CLXXXVIII. 41.

²⁷ Leeson, *Kama Shilpa*, plate 80.

a dish containing a broken coconut and a cake is passed three times round the group present, and then the bride and bridegroom spit into it.²⁸ The broken coconut probably represents the female sex-organ. During the Jain marriage ceremony, the bride spits betel juice over the bridegroom.²⁹ At the puberty ceremony of the Uppiliyan girl, her husband takes a mixture of plantain and milk into his mouth and spits it over her.³⁰ The plantain probably represents the male organ, and milk the semen. Nanjundayya says that at the marriage ceremonies of many Mysore castes, the bride and bridegroom eat a mixture of plantain, milk, and sugar. The devotees of the Dasari mendicants at the Karamadi Temple, Coimbatore district, give a mixture of plantain, sugar, and grain to the Dasari when he is possessed. He eats a little and spits the rest into the hands of the devotee, who eats it, expecting thereby to be cured of disease or to obtain a child.³¹ The Matangi is a dedicated prostitute of an untouchable caste; on certain occasions she spits saliva or toddy on upper caste people and on their houses, and this is ritually purifying; a lighted lamp which seems to have a phallic significance figures in the ceremony.³² The adulterer of the Kudubi caste of South Kanara is punished by being made to stand in a pit, where leaf-plates from which food has been eaten are thrown on his head.³³

It will be observed from the usages mentioned here that in the case of adultery, where the semen is misused, the associated saliva retains its bad character, but where the semen is properly used, the associated saliva assumes a good character. The Matangi's saliva becomes auspicious on the proper ritual occasions, because she has been dedicated and is possessed by a goddess. Stevenson mentions three instances in which food which has been polluted by contact with the mouth nevertheless becomes sacred: ghee which has been touched by the mouth of a Brahman, the foam that remains round

²⁸ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, V. 36.

²⁹ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 200.

³⁰ Thurston, *op. cit.*, VII. 239.

³¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, II. 116-17.

³² Elmore, *Dravidian Gods*, pp. 25-26, 141.

³³ Thurston, *op. cit.*, IV. 100.

the lips of a calf when it has finished drinking its mother's milk, and honey, which is thought of as having been eaten by bees.³⁴ Crooke mentions the use of saliva to cure wounds and to ward off the evil eye.³⁵ This occasional reversal of the normally polluting character of saliva is consonant with the view that the polluting character of saliva derives from its association with semen, which is normally highly valued but in certain circumstances is correspondingly disliked. Such ambivalence is characteristic of taboos.

This evidence, then, points to an unconscious association between the sex-organ and the mouth, and between semen and saliva. The interpretation suggested in the chapter on Goddess Worship of the figure of Chinnamastaka, and in the chapter on Village Goddesses of the buffalo ritual, in both of which the mouth is equivalent to the female sex-organ, confirms the idea.

This association explains the close parallels between the sex taboos and the food taboos. The two principal offences against caste are marrying an outsider and eating food polluted by an outsider. The lawgivers associate these offences. Yama says: "He who takes the food of a Chandala or a Pukkasa, or has intercourse with one of their women must perform one year's krichchra...." Vashishtha also prescribes the same penance for the two sins, though other lawgivers consider eating the food of a low-caste man a less grave offence.³⁶ In most cases the rules against polluted food are less rigid than those against marriage, but in some instances they are more so: cases are known in which a man may without disgrace marry a woman whom he must not permit to cook his food. The privacy which surrounds eating and drinking among Hindus may also arise from this association. Eat so that others cannot see your food or drink, says the *Padma Purana* (I.13.399). The Iyengars are said to be the most exclusive in this matter, but most of the higher castes tend the same way. Nanjundayya says that the Lingayat Bana-

³⁴ Stevenson, *Rites*, p. 356.

³⁵ Crooke, *Popular Religion*, p. 198.

³⁶ Judgment by Srish Chandra Basu in Suit No. 98 of 1910, in the Court of the Subordinate Judge, Benares.

jigas, both priests and laymen, are careful not to let anyone see their food or drink.³⁷

The suggestion is, therefore, that the Hindu pollution complex, which appears to underly most of the caste rules, and to centre about saliva, is concerned at the unconscious level with semen: it derives from the narcissistic preoccupation with semen and dislike of its loss. The two feelings are opposed in sense: what is disliked in the one case is the loss of semen, and in the other the invasion of the body by other people's saliva. This inversion, however, seems to accord with the general isolating tendency of narcissism: the strong cathexis upon the subject's own semen would lead to a dislike of others' semen. But it is probable that the inversion is more specifically due to the identification with the mother and the unconscious—indeed sometimes conscious—fantasy of the return to the womb. As has been remarked above, the legends of Parashurama and of Shvetaketu suggest that it was the son rather than the husband who imposed restrictions upon the sexual freedom of women, i.e. imposed the chastity complex upon them. But in the woman the chastity complex takes the form of a fear of semen. The son, identifying with the mother, introjects this fear, and thus fears pollution by others' semen, and derivatively by their saliva and other body secretions. The *Maitri Upanishad* says that the womb is hell and that the child emerges from it through the urinary passage.³⁸ The *Garbhopanishad* says, "the soul is cooped up in the dirty uterus, surrounded by all sorts of filthy things, and welters in a sea of troubles and agonies."³⁹ This fantasy surely helps to explain the dislike of pollution by others' semen, as well as the restraints imposed at the instance of sons upon the sexual freedom of women.

Carstairs says that the men he studied showed more anxiety about potency when they discussed intercourse with their wives than when they discussed relations with low-caste girls and prostitutes, and believed that sex relations with older

³⁷ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, II. 130.

³⁸ *Maitri Up.*, III. 4.

³⁹ Gajendragadkar, *Neo-Upanishadic Philosophy*, p. 88. These words are not to be found in the text given in *Thirty Minor Upanishads*, which says merely, "There is much suffering whilst living in the womb."

women (identifiable with the mother) cause more physical harm than relations with younger women.⁴⁰ The fantasy of the return to the womb just referred to helps to explain these feelings. Relations with low-caste girls and prostitutes are not such as to produce sons with whom the father can identify. A son born of such a relation will have lived in a womb where he was liable to be polluted with others' semen, or perhaps was in other respects "dirty," and is therefore repudiated as illegitimate, and the father does not fully identify with him. The loss of semen which continues to be regarded as part of or identifiable with the self is thus the cause of greater anxiety than the loss of semen which does not continue to be so regarded. In a similar way the follower of the Vamamarga of the Shakta sect suffers no loss of caste through performing the ritual with a debauched and low-caste shakti, presumably because he does not permit the semen to enter her uterus. A convention of purport similar to the feelings reported by Carstairs was observed formerly in South India: it was strictly forbidden to marry, i.e. to produce legitimate sons, outside the sub-caste, but a good deal of toleration was extended to relations with low-caste and promiscuous Devadasis.

The facts mentioned here of course presuppose the existence of caste. However, they illustrate the feelings which may be supposed to have led to the restriction of marriage to women of suitable parentage, i.e. primarily women who were related by blood to the mother and so were identifiable with her.

On the other hand, it appears to be a common belief, which I have heard expressed more than once, that the minimum harm to the body is caused by intercourse with a woman, that that caused by the emission of semen in sleep is twice as great, and that caused by masturbation is four times as great. This belief, however, is probably due to the guilt feeling caused by masturbation, which is noticeable even in narcissists, and the anxiety normally caused by involuntary emission in sleep. It has been remarked above in regard to village customs that where the semen has been used improperly, as in adultery, the saliva which appears to symbolise

⁴⁰ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, pp. 84, 161.

it has a bad character, whereas when the semen is properly used the saliva has a good character.

From the statements quoted above from the *Maitri* and *Garbha Upanishads* it appears that the feeling in regard to the mother's womb is ambivalent. The desire to return to it is no doubt predominant, but it may also be disliked. This dislike, together with the strong identification with the semen, is probably the root of the fantasy in which the semen becomes a son directly, without the help of a woman. There are many legends on this theme. Kumara was born from the semen of Shiva. Prajapati and Varuna saw Vach at a sacrifice; their semen fell, and Vayu blew it into the fire, from the flames of which Bhrigu was born, and from the ashes Angiras.⁴¹ The Rishis Agastya and Vashishtha, and Drona, Kripa and his twin sister Kripa, important characters in the *Mahabharata*, were all born in this way. When Brihaspati wished to have intercourse with her although she was pregnant, Mamata reminded him that he was one of those whose seed never goes in vain. This statement, that the seed never goes in vain, expresses the high value placed on it as a result of identifying with it. At the same time the embryo protested that there was no room in that womb for another's seed. To the hearer who identifies with Brihaspati, this expresses the complementary feeling, the dislike of the womb.

The fear of marriage

The dislike of the loss of semen is far more vocal and apparently more intense in India than in the West. At the same time it appears to be largely free from guilt-feeling: it is a product of narcissism, not of the punitive's castration-fear. The *Shiva Samhita* says: "The falling of seed leads towards death; the keeping of one's seed is life. Hence with all his power should a man hold his seed."⁴² The attitude seems to be matter-of-fact and free from guilt. This is the attitude of ordinary men at the present day. An acquaintance, not a close friend, has told me that he wished to learn

⁴¹ *Brihad-Devata*, V. 97.

⁴² qu. by Danielou, *Yoga*, p. 45.

the yogic technique whereby it is possible to enjoy the sex-act without losing the semen. A total stranger in a railway carriage has told me that he had been disturbed to find that his semen was becoming watery, but he had cured this condition by a change of diet, of which he gave me details.

The fear of the loss of semen is probably the source of the fear of marriage and of intercourse. The story of a man who is fated to die if he has intercourse with his wife suggests this fear. Pandu was cursed to suffer that fate, and so was Kalmashapada.⁴³ The story of Dulha Deo, the bridegroom god, who was struck by lightning and turned to stone when riding in his marriage procession,⁴⁴ seems to express the fear of marriage. Specifically, as in some of the stories below, being turned to stone expresses the feared effect of the loss of semen. In a well-known folk-story of Bengal, Lakhindar was killed by a snake on his wedding night. His father enclosed the couple in an air-tight iron chamber, but it had a secret entrance. He also tied a mongoose to each leg of the bed, but Behula let her hair hang down on the floor, and the snake climbed up it.⁴⁵ In the punitive milieu, the father normally opposes the sexual activity of the son, and the fear of marriage may be due to the fear of castration by the father. But here the father takes precautions to safeguard his son's sexual activity. It is unlikely then that the story expresses fear of castration by the father: it expresses the fear of the loss of semen. This is confirmed by the fact that it is the wife who, by letting her hair hang down, is guilty of her husband's death, and by the fact that she awakes and throws a pair of nut-crackers at the snake and cuts off its tail, symbolising castration, an injury similar to the loss of semen.

The stories of the vampire and of the fatal woman also express the fear of the loss of semen. Thurston relates a story told by the Koyi of Andhra which appears to express the fear of both the loss of semen and castration during intercourse. The Koyi believe in a sorceress called Chedipe (prostitute)

⁴³ *MBh.*, Adi P., CXVIII, CXXIII, CLXXXIV.

⁴⁴ Crooke, *Popular Religion*, p. 75.

⁴⁵ A. Bhattacharya in *Q.J.M.S.* (Bangalore, April, 1958), pp. 19-20.

who rides a tiger. If she does not like a man, she comes naked to his house at night. When she enters, all the residents fall insensible. She bites the man's toe and sucks the blood. Unless he gets proper treatment, she will do this again and again until he dies. Sometimes she tears out his tongue; then he dies at once. Sometimes she undresses and takes the form of a tiger with one human leg; then she is called Marulupuli, enchanting tiger.⁴⁶ The sucking of blood from the toe evidently signifies depriving him of semen, and tearing out his tongue means castration. Though slightly disguised, the sexual nature of the Chedipe's assault cannot be mistaken. The more sophisticated stories of vampires and fatal women do not disguise it at all.

In one of the Vikramaditya stories, three Apsarases beguile three princes, sleeping with them at night and turning them to stone by day. The princes escape, and the Apsarases pursue them. In the end the three couples are reconciled.⁴⁷ Being turned into stone as usual represents the feared effect of the loss of semen. Thus, this story appeals to two opposite feelings: fear of intercourse and desire for it.

One variant of the fatal woman is the girl who has been fed on increasing doses of poison until her body is so deadly that a man who has intercourse with her dies at once. In the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, King Brahmadatta sends such poison girls to kill the soldiers of King Udayana's army.⁴⁸ In the *Mudra-rakshasa*, Rakshasa, the minister of the Nanda king, sends such a girl to seduce and kill Chandragupta Maurya, but Chanakya foils the plot and makes her poison Chandragupta's ally, Parvataka, instead. It is possible that the woman whose breasts yield poison is a derivative of the poison girl. The tyrant Kamsa's nurse, the Rakshasi Putana, goes to the infant Krishna to kill him, but he drinks "all her vital breaths together with her milk," and "having her breast sundered" she falls dead.⁴⁹

The Lamia is a snake which changes itself into a beautiful woman, who seduces a man. "Yet he was not happy: a strange

⁴⁶ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV. 69-70.

⁴⁷ *Stories of Vikramaditya*, p. 240.

⁴⁸ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 19.

⁴⁹ *Harivamsha*, LXI, 26.

white look came into his face and a stony look into his eyes." The king is saved by a yogi, who asks if he has a foreign woman in the palace; in fact, she claims to be Chinese.⁵⁰ Again, the change towards the condition of a stone appears to represent the feared result of the loss of semen.

In some stories the woman's body is inhabited by a snake. Her husbands all die on the wedding night. The hero volunteers to marry her, but refrains from intercourse and remains awake. At midnight a snake emerges from her body, and he kills it. Vikramaditya visits the courtesan Kamalarekha, whose lovers all die in her room, but he contrives to remain awake while she sleeps. A snake comes from her nose and he kills it. It is made clear that if he is to save his life, he must avoid intercourse.⁵¹ He has a similar adventure with Achyut Kanya; the snake enters through a corner of the room. He cuts off the tip of its tail, and it flees.⁵² Cutting off its tail probably refers to the castration which he fears. In both stories he is a stranger.

In a variant of this story the hero observes that her abdomen is swollen. When she sleeps a snake crawls from her mouth, and as it does so her abdomen resumes its normal size. He kills it and claims her hand as promised.⁵³ L. B. Day's story "Swet-Basanta" is similar.⁵⁴ The location of the snake suggests that originally it emerged from the vagina and killed the victim by biting his genitals. In these stories also, the hero is a stranger.

Alternatively, the princess is haunted by a Rakshasa. Her husbands all die on the night of the marriage, but the king orders that a man must be brought to her room every night. Vidushaka, visiting the city, lodges with an old woman, whose son has to go to the princess that night. Vidushaka offers to go in his stead. When the princess is asleep, a Rakshasa opens the door and thrusts in his right arm. Vidushaka cuts it off, and the Rakshasa flees.⁵⁵ The severance of the arm

⁵⁰ "Ali Mardan Khan," *Best Short Stories*, I. 101.

⁵¹ *Stories of Vikramaditya*, p. 280.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵³ "The Floating Palace," *Best Short Stories*, I. 204.

⁵⁴ Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 99-101.

⁵⁵ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 18.

again suggests castration. Vikramaditya has a similar adventure with a courtesan, Navamohini.⁵⁶

Omitting that of Putana, fifteen stories illustrating the fear of the loss of semen are cited above. In ten of these, the intercourse which is feared is with a foreign woman (the Apsarasas, the two poison girls, Lamia, Kamalarekha, Achyut Kanya, the anonymous princesses of the next two stories, Vidushaka's princess, and Navamohini). It is probable that the Koyi regard their weretigers as participating in the nature of the tiger species, and therefore as foreign. In six of the stories there is an explicit hint of castration (those of Pandu, Kalma-shapada, Lakhindar, Achyut Kanya, the next, and Vidushaka). It appears therefore that the fear of the loss of semen is closely associated with the fear of castration during intercourse, and that these fears are excited more particularly by the idea of intercourse with a woman from outside the community.

These inferences are confirmed by some of the usages concerning menstruation. The menstrual blood is suggestive of castration during intercourse, and the taboos seem to treat the wife as foreign during that period. In most castes she has to remain apart from the family, and the association between the sex-organ and the mouth is again illustrated by the fact that she may not cook. It is said in Kerala (and elsewhere) that on the first day of the menstrual period the woman assumes the character of a Chandalini, a woman of the lowest caste, and that a husband who goes to her on that day cuts his life short.⁵⁷ Jagadisa Ayyar says that in South India a woman must remain isolated for three days after menstruation, and must then bathe and eat rice and salt before she sees her husband; if these observances are neglected harm may come to him.⁵⁸ Rice and salt stand for semen; the unconscious fear probably is that if she does not get semen in this way, she will get it from him by castration.

The external soul

The fear of the loss of semen and of castration is expressed

⁵⁶ *Stories of Vikramaditya*, p. 306.

⁵⁷ A. K. Iyer, *Cochin Tribes*, I. 202.

⁵⁸ Jagadisa Ayyar, *South Indian Customs*, p. 166.

in a less explicit but still unmistakable manner in folk-stories concerning the external soul. Hutton remarks that beliefs about a "life-substance" or "soul-matter" probably contributed to the formation of the caste system. The life-substance may be separated from the body and then form an external soul. It is blood, hair, or other constituent of the body.⁵⁹ From the evidence of the folk-stories, the external soul is typically represented by the sex-organ, and may therefore be identified with the semen. Abbott says, "The jivatma or principle of life is supposed to enter the body through food and pass into the semen."⁶⁰

In a story entitled "The Story of the Rakshasas," the external soul has the form of two bees situated at the top of a crystal pillar under water. If the bees are killed in such a way that no blood falls to the ground, the whole Rakshasa community will die; but if a drop of the blood reaches the ground, a thousand Rakshasas will spring from it.⁶¹ Evidently the bees are testicles, the blood is semen, and the act of killing them is castration. It is specially significant in the present context that the semen is regarded as belonging to the Rakshasa community as a whole. In another story in the same collection, there are two bees in a box under water; if they are killed in such a way that no blood reaches the ground, the whole community of 700 Rakshasas will die.⁶²

In a version of the story of Taraka, the king of the Asuras, Karttikeya failed to defeat him and therefore went to Shiva for advice. Shiva said that Taraka was one of his own devotees and therefore could not be killed; the only way was to break the linga which he kept in his throat, for then Taraka would no longer wish to live. Karttikeya broke the linga and overcame Taraka.⁶³ The external soul—though in this instance it is concealed within the body—is the linga, the sex-organ.

In one of the Vikramaditya stories the external soul of a Rakshasa is the head of a snake—an object of phallic form—

⁵⁹ Hutton, *Caste in India*, pp. 189-90.

⁶⁰ Abbott, *Keys of Power*.

⁶¹ Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 85.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁶³ Ramesan, *Temples of Andhra*, p. 91.

situated on the breast of a tortoise in an underground lake in the heart of a mountain.⁶⁴ In one story, the external soul is a sword, which breaks when the hero dies.⁶⁵ A similar instance occurs in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (ch. 42). The sword is a phallic symbol. In the story "Prince Lionheart and his Three Friends," the external soul of the prince is a barley plant,⁶⁶ and in the story "The Man Who Wished to be Perfect" it is a tree.⁶⁷ In both cases it flourishes while he is well and fades when he is in danger. The plant and the tree are possibly phallic symbols.

The external soul of a man or a male Rakshasa is sometimes a bird. In the story "Punchkin" it is a parrot in a cage at the base of a pile of six pots of water, one above another, in the middle of a circle of trees.⁶⁸ As in one of the village versions of the story of Renuka (see chapter on Village Goddesses, legend 55), the pile of water-pots is phallic. In the story "Rani Jhajhani," the external soul of a giant is a parrot in a golden cage hung high in the air on a distant island.⁶⁹ In the story "Surya and Chandra," it is a white dove in a crevice in the wall of a well, at the bottom of which is the underground land of the Rakshasas.⁷⁰ In "Prince Lionheart and his Three Friends," it is a bee in the crop of a bird in a golden cage, hung on a tree guarded by a dog and a horse in a distant land beyond a river.⁷¹ In the story "The Ogress Queen," the external souls of men are cocks and a pigeon, but a starling is that of a woman.⁷² In the story "The Boy Whom Seven Mothers Suckled," the external soul of a female is a bird in a cage in a distant land beyond the sea.⁷³

From these instances it seems probable that a bird is normally the external soul of a male, and is given to a female only by later story-tellers who did not understand the symbolism. The psycho-analysts consider the bird a normal penis-symbol.

⁶⁴ *Stories of Vikramaditya*, p. 235.

⁶⁵ *Best Short Stories*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 189.

⁶⁸ Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 10.

⁶⁹ *Best Short Stories*, I. 151.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁷³ Day, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

On the other hand the box, cage, or well, which in most of the stories contains the vital object, is a standard symbol for the womb. The circle of trees which surrounds the object in "Punchkin" may also represent the female organ. Similarly, the water, which in most of the stories protects the object, is usually a symbol of the womb. Thus it appears that when the hero's life is safe, the external soul is in its other home, the womb. This recalls the psycho-analytic theory that the womb is the origin of the conception of heaven, and the semen of the soul. It will be noticed that in the first two stories cited here, the real external soul is not the object which resembles the sex-organ; it is the blood, which stands for the semen.

The symbolism of the external soul is not confined to folk-stories. The Koyi of Andhra have objects which they call velpu, one for the whole tribe, others for each clan, and others for each family. These are worshipped, especially at times of sickness and crop failure. The tribe are very secretive about them, and keep them hidden in hollow bamboos in unfrequented places. They are described as "small pieces of metal, generally iron, and less than a foot in length."⁷⁴ These correspond closely to the external soul, are collective in character, and seem to be of phallic form.

Every member of the Virashaiva or Lingayat sect must wear hanging from the neck a small object called a linga. This is so sacred that it is equated with Shiva, and is the only material form of Shiva which may be worshipped. Its separation from the body is spiritual death. During the ceremony of initiation, the Guru "extracts chaitanya (consciousness, soul) existing in the body of the pupil and places it in the Linga." When he gives the linga to the pupil he says: "My child, believe, this is your Pranalinga (life linga) . . . think this to be the Supreme . . . this is the Real Entity . . . Worship this thrice regularly every day. Do not eat anything without offering it to this Linga, your life's essence in reality . . . This Linga brings all objects of bhoga (enjoyment) and moksha (liberation) to your hand."⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV. 64.

⁷⁵ Nandimath, *Handbook*, pp. 56, 71-73.

Thurston says that the Lingayat Aradhyas always wear a lingam which they call the prana lingam. "The theory is that the lingam is the life of the man who wears it." If it is lost, he must fast until he recovers it, or he cannot live. He stands up to his neck in water and repeats mantrams; and it is believed that if he has been orthodox, the lingam will come back to him miraculously.⁷⁶ Water is a common symbol of the womb: it may be that in order to recover his life lingam he has to undergo rebirth.

Nandimath denies the assumption, generally made by Orientalists, that the linga is a phallic object. However, the evidence is fairly convincing. The word has that meaning, though it also has other meanings—sign, grammatical gender—which are evidently related to this meaning. There can be no doubt of the phallic character of the linga associated and identified with the Puranic Shiva. The Virashaiva linga has the shape of a stupa, which has some resemblance to phallus and may derive from it. Nandimath agrees that the linga may be identified with the Skambha, a golden pillar standing in water mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, and usually regarded as a phallic object. He also admits that the linga may be identified with the Jyotirlinga (light linga), the pillar form of Shiva, the ends of which Vishnu and Brahma tried vainly to reach. He stresses its character as light and fire, a fire which, by burning all impurities, enables the Virashaiva to ignore the impurity attaching to birth, death, menstruation, low caste, etc. Light and fire are common phallic symbols. It is also described as "the boat to cross over the ocean of samsara (this world)." The more usual phallic symbol is a bridge, which performs the same function. According to Chennabasava, the second head of the Virashaiva order of monks, the cosmic consciousness assumed a solid shape and became the great linga, "a blazing round column with the letter Om as its seat." This changed into a form with five faces, from which came five shaktis, powers, and from the secret face came atma, the individual soul which is identical with the universe. Another Virashaiva theologian, Maggeyya Mayideva, set forth a doctrine of worship which divides Shiva into three aspects, of

⁷⁶ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, I.51-52.

which one is the Ishtalinga, a visible embodiment. Instructions are given as to the form of the Ishtalinga, and the measurements suggest that "in all probability, at the bottom of the conception of Ishtalinga, there is the idea of the material form of man, corresponding to 'the contemplation by a man of his own material form' of Buddhism."⁷⁷ The form corresponds to the general shape of a man seated in the yogic posture. As has been argued in the chapter on Yoga, the yogic posture and discipline probably derive from an unconscious identification with the permanent phallus. The fact that the Virashaiva sect is markedly puritanical accords with this view of its unconscious inspiration.

Mr. C. Subramania Pillai says: "Every Tamil king reared a tree of his own and guarded it as if it were his life. . . A king invading his enemy's territory first took care to take possession of this guarded tree or grove. . . It was unmitigated shame if another's elephant was tied to one's tree." The God Muruga overcame the Asuras by first destroying their mango tree, which stood in the sea. In another version the mango tree was inverted. A mango fell from a king's sacred tree into a river and was carried away, and a girl ate it; the king had the girl executed, although her parents offered him her weight in gold and eighty-one elephants. The original name of the Shiva linga was kanthali, from kanthu, tree stump, and ali, destroy. Thus the linga is the stone substitute or successor of a tree.⁷⁸ The symbolism is therefore plain: the Tamil king's sacred tree or external soul was a lingam.

If a lingam, a pair of bees, a sword, a bird, or a tree or plant is the usual external soul of a male, that of a female is normally a necklace or garland. In the story "Sodewa Bai," the heroine is born wearing a gold necklace; if another person puts it on, the heroine dies.⁷⁹ In the story "Baingan Badshahzadi," it is a necklace in a box in a bee in a fish in a distant river. If anyone else puts the necklace on, the heroine dies.⁸⁰ In the story "The Talisman of Chastity," the heroine gives her suspicious husband a garland of lotuses, which remain

⁷⁷ Nandimath, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 116, 119, 138, 145, 199, 204.

⁷⁸ Pillai, *Tree Worship*, pp. 63, 65, 72, 89.

⁷⁹ Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 179.

⁸⁰ *Best Short Stories*, I.55-56.

fresh so long as she is chaste, but will fade if she is unfaithful to him.⁸¹ The same incident occurs in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (ch. 123). In another of the *Katha Sarit Sagara* stories, Shiva gives each of a separated couple a red lotus, which will fade if the other partner is unfaithful (ch. 13). In the story "The Ogress Queen" the external soul of a Rakshasi is a spinning-wheel.⁸²

On the other hand, a necklace in a casket in a fish in a pond is the external soul of a prince in the story "Life's Secret,"⁸³ and also in the story "Chundun Raja."⁸⁴ These anomalies again are probably the outcome of later story-tellers' ignorance.

Like the necklace and the garland, the lotus is an accepted symbol for the female sex-organ. If the external soul of a female normally takes one of these forms, this confirms the sex symbolism attributed to the objects which function as the external soul of males.

A folklore theme analogous to the external soul is the wife's chastity as safeguarding the husband's life or strength. Jalandhar was born from the flash of Shiva's third eye and the ocean (evidently symbols for the male and female sex-organs). He obtained the boon that nobody but Shiva could kill him. Narada brought it about that they fought, but Shiva found that while Jalandhar's wife Vrinda remained chaste her husband was invincible. Vishnu solved the problem by appearing to her in the form of her husband and embracing her.⁸⁵

In the first two of the stories cited above, and in the observances of the Koyi, the external soul is related to a community rather than an individual. In the following story it is related almost explicitly to caste, though it does not resemble the sex-organ. Princess Malika-Jarika is a fairy, but when the human hero meets her she appears as a monkey. When he has proved his devotion she discards her monkey skin and entrusts it to him, telling him that she can retain

⁸¹ Natesa Sastri, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 414.

⁸² *Best Short Stories*, p. 93.

⁸³ Day, *Folk Tales of Bengal*, p. 6.

⁸⁴ Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 170.

⁸⁵ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, I.317.

her beauty only so long as the skin remains intact. His envious brothers persuade him to burn it. She appears instantly, snatches it from the fire, and puts it on again. Her fairy community regard her as having lost caste and acquired a human smell through her association with him.⁸⁶ Here the external soul, the monkey skin, symbolises the barrier between the two "castes," but the emotion related to it is ambivalent. This, however, is true of the sex-organ, which is the supreme focus of both love and hate. The same is true of the external soul, which so often represents the sex-organ. The lotuses exchanged by the couple, while they remain fresh, symbolise love; the pair of bees or the bird is the vulnerable point at which the hate-object can be castrated and killed. In "The Princess Malika-Jarika" the monkey-skin, the external soul, is the focus of both emotions, though love proves the stronger.

Gene-pools

The folk-stories cited above show that the fear of the loss of semen is associated more especially with intercourse with women outside the community, and that the semen is often identified with the soul or life of the individual, and in some instances with the soul or life of a community.

The following stories about the origin of their community related by the Thugs illustrate from another angle the relation between communities and semen. Bhavani tried to kill a monster who devoured men. She attacked it with her sword, but from every drop of blood which fell to the ground another monster arose. She therefore created from her sweat two men, whom she told to strangle the monster with strips of cloth torn from her garment. They did so, and she rewarded them by giving them the strips of cloth, telling them to transmit these to their posterity, and to destroy all men not of their kindred.⁸⁷ The meaning of this is shown by another of their stories. In former times, Bhavani relieved them of the necessity of burying the corpses of their victims by eating them herself. In order that they might not see her doing

⁸⁶ *Best Short Stories*, I.177.

⁸⁷ Sleeman, *Rambles*, Appendix.

this, she ordered them never to look back when leaving the scene of a murder. Once a Thug looked back, and saw her eating a corpse. She was embarrassed and declared that she would no longer perform this service. They appealed to her mercy, and she gave them one of her teeth for a pickaxe with which they could bury the corpses instead. Hence the important part the pickaxe played in their ritual.⁸⁸ The psycho-analytic view is that this looking back which is so often forbidden in folk-stories is spying on the parents' intercourse. If that is the case here, Bhavani was obtaining semen from the corpse; and that is the original purpose of the Thugs' activities. Bloodshed was forbidden, because no semen must be allowed to reach the ground. Strangling is symbolic castration. The quest for semen explains the rule that they must not attack women.

Why should semen not be allowed to reach the ground? It is a general rule that objects endowed with magical potency lose it if they touch the earth. It is probable that the origin of this belief is the assumption that the permanent phallus, the original magic wand and archetype of magical objects, if allowed to touch the female earth would undergo detumescence and thus lose its potency. In the story of Behula cited above, the fear expressed is the fear of the loss of semen, and this comes about because her hair touches the floor. But this story seems also to express the narcissistic preference for isolation, like the tortoise withdrawing into its shell, and suggests why the loss of semen is feared more particularly if the woman is a foreigner. It may also express the fear of alien semen: snake-poison has some resemblance to semen, and plays a part in erotic magic, being used to curdle milk,⁸⁹ a function having some resemblance to that of semen in reproduction.

It is a common incident in folk-stories that when the hero touches the ground his visit to fairyland comes to an immediate end. In this belief both the fear of the foreign and the fear of the loss of semen, i.e. of detumescence as the loss of magic power, may be detected. Similarly, there was an ancient prohibition upon the king or chief touching the ground, lest

⁸⁸ Sleeman, *Thug*, p. 8.

⁸⁹ A. Bhattacharya in *Q.J.M.S.* (Bangalore, April, 1958), p. 23.

he lose his mana. The fear of detumescence as the loss of magic power may be assumed in this case. Some kings and chiefs were regarded as divine, i.e. as of a superior order or caste, and it may be that for them touching the earth was like touching ordinary men. If so, there may here also be a trace of the preference for separateness which, in other matters, Hindu narcissism carried to so much greater lengths. There seems to be no trace of the fear of the foreign in the belief of the Halepaik toddy-drawers that if they beat the spathe with the bone of a buffalo which was killed by a tiger, and if the bone has not touched the ground, the yield of toddy will be increased.⁹⁰ But it may be supposed that the bone stands for the phallus, and that what is feared is the loss of semen, or what is aimed at is its augmentation. The same ideas may explain the belief of the Malayali Paraiyan sorcerer who extracts a foetus from a woman in order to make from it a liquid which will render him invisible, that if the foetus touches the ground it will lose its power.⁹¹ The foetus is closely connected with semen, and what is obtained from it is a magic liquid, which presumably represents semen.

The common element in these beliefs, then, is the fear of the loss of semen as causing a loss of power, or the desire to increase the store of it. It is possible, therefore, that what destroys sexual or magical potency on the good side, in the we-group, promotes it on bad side, in the they-group, the enemy. This would explain the warning given to the hero that if he allows the Rakshasa's blood, the equivalent of foreign semen, to fall to the earth, it will produce many more Rakshasas, and similarly Bhavani's attempt to prevent the monster's blood from reaching the earth.

Hutton says that the purpose of head-hunting and of religious prostitution was to increase the quantity of life-substance in the community.⁹² Reference has been made to the identification of the head with the sex-organ, and the popular belief that a store of semen exists in the head. These facts confirm the view that the Thugs were engaged in the quest for life-

⁹⁰ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, II.322.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, VI.125-56.

⁹² Hutton, *Caste in India*, pp. 238, 260.

substance, i.e. semen. It is true that the Thugs were not communities of blood-kin; but membership was largely hereditary, and the ceremonial and devotion to Bhavani, may have united them into the psychical equivalent of a kinship group. Their ceremony of eating sugar, which probably symbolised mother's milk, affected them deeply: Feringheea, one of their leaders, said: "We all feel pity sometimes, but the gur (sugar) of the sacrifice changes our nature."⁹³

Corpse-eating survives among the Aghoris. Bhattacharya says that members of this sect explain that they acquire a knowledge of magic thereby.⁹⁴ Some characters in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* stories eat human flesh in order to acquire magic powers, such as the power to fly.⁹⁵ Thurston reports customs observed by the Sembadavan which point to similar practices in the past. They tell the story that Parvati held a swayamvara (bridegroom selection), but failed to distinguish Shiva from Brahma; Shiva therefore cut off Brahma's head. The head stuck to Shiva's hand, and in order to get it off and to rid himself of his sin, he went on a pilgrimage. At the Malayanur burial ground he saw some bhutas (spirits) eating corpses. There he also met Parvati, but she failed to recognise him. At this, Brahma's head laughed and fell from his hand. The bhutas made a drink which freed Shiva from his sin. In commemoration of these events the caste make an image of Parvati with ashes from a burning-ground, and their pujari (priest) carries a pot representing the severed head, and gnaws a human bone. On other occasions members of the caste become possessed, and eat ashes from burning-grounds and bite bones; and this is supposed to drive away evil spirits and cure barrenness in women. They say that in former times they ate corpses.⁹⁶ Evidently, the purpose of these practices was to acquire life-substance, and this substance was believed to cure barrenness and to absolve from sin. In the punitive system of ideas, the state of sin is the state of being castrated, for which semen is the remedy. Even here, especially in the context of a Shaiva legend, it may be assumed that the quest is for semen.

⁹³ Sleeman, *Thug*, p. 16.

⁹⁴ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes*, p. 393.

⁹⁵ *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 20, ch. 108.

⁹⁶ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI.357.

Life-substance is also acquired from outsiders by more orthodox methods. In the matrilocal marriage system which survived among many castes in Kerala until it was abolished by law at the end of the last century, the mother was the centre of the family, descent was reckoned through her, she owned the property, and she had a series of husbands, who merely visited her at her wish. This was a restrained, domesticated method of gaining the same end as was achieved by Thagi, corpse-eating and religious prostitution. Professor Ehrenfels maintains that religious prostitution is part of the same cultural ensemble as the matrilocal marriage.⁹⁷ It may be said that the ruling principle of narcissistic society before the stage of the pollution complex was the acquisition of foreign semen.

In earlier times, dedicated prostitutes no doubt performed the function of augmenting the supply of life-substance in their communities. In recent times, they formed with their children separate communities of their own, which of course received foreign semen, though I know of no evidence that importance was attached to that fact. Probably their original function had been forgotten. Those communities which dedicate Basavis, however, have not fully forgotten it. Basavis are dedicated in particular when the parents have no son. The Basavi normally has sex relations within the caste, but she can have relations with men of equal or higher caste; and her children belong to her parents' family and can marry and inherit like normal members of the caste. Thus here is evidence of a purpose to increase the fund of life-substance in the caste.

Thurston mentions the Bedars, Kaikolans, Madigas, Boyas, and Kurubas, all low castes, as those which dedicate girls as Basavis.⁹⁸ Nanjundayya mentions the Bakkaru, Besta, Dasari, Dombar, and several others.⁹⁹ Thurston also mentions the Kolaiyan, Konga Vellala, Muduvar, Nagavasulu, Nanchinad Vellala, Odiya, and Parivaram as castes which allow their women to have sex relations with non-members of the caste.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ehrenfels, "The Comparative Study of Matrilineal Civilisations in India." *J. Univ. Gauhati* (1953); and generally: *Mother-Right in India*.

⁹⁸ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, I.194; III.37; IV.296; *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 400.

⁹⁹ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, II.94, 243; III.108. 153.

¹⁰⁰ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, III.300, 418; V.89, 138, 244, 438; VI.158.

According to Nanjundayya's data, it is almost a rule among the lower castes that a woman's adultery with a man of higher caste is condoned; his data also show that it is the general principle to allow a member from a higher caste, after suitable ceremonies, to join a lower caste. Some of the criminal tribes allow their women to prostitute themselves,¹⁰¹ and several of these tribes admit adult recruits and buy or kidnap children, though nearly all appear to bar recruits and children from the lowest castes.¹⁰² (On the other hand, in some of the criminal tribes the women refrain from intercourse with outsiders or men of respectable castes lest they get children lacking in the criminal spirit.¹⁰³)

In the lower castes of Hindu society, therefore, there are still to be found traces of the ancient practice of increasing the fund of life-substance by acquiring it from outsiders. But in all the higher castes the more individualistic or narcissistic principle prevails of protecting the gene-pool from foreign admixture by imposing rigorous penalties upon women's sex relations outside the sub-caste. Such relations are almost the only important cause of the expulsion of women from caste. Thurston says that down to 1833 there was in Bangalore a large building, in the charge of a contractor, for the accommodation of women who had been expelled from caste for immorality.¹⁰⁴

The feeling towards semen is ambivalent. In this it resembles the feeling towards the sex-organ, and the faeces. The infant likes its own faeces, but by the end of the first year has reversed this attitude, retaining, however, a half-repressed liking for it, together with a far stronger dislike of others' faeces, and an ambivalent attitude to many faeces symbols. The feeling about money, a symbol of the faeces and the semen, is highly ambivalent, especially in Hindu culture. The attitude to semen may also be compared to the attitude to blood, which also is a common symbol of community. At an early period, blood is used in sacrificial and other rituals; later, it comes to be

¹⁰¹ Mullaly, *Notes*, p. 19; Naidu, *Criminal Tribes*, II.19; III.25; Ghani, *Criminal Tribes*, pp. 58, 127.

¹⁰² Naidu, *History of Railway Thieves*, pp. 4, 25, 38, 58.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 24; Ghani, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 48-49.

¹⁰⁴ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI.290.

disliked, and is replaced by red substances, lac, vermilion, kum-kum, etc.; and then the use of these tends to be abandoned. In India now tribes can be found in all stages of this evolution.¹⁰⁵ It is interesting that yet another body fluid, the urine, can symbolise the community in the same way as semen and blood. When the Mahar adopt an outsider, they shave his face hair, wetting it with the urine of a Mahar boy.¹⁰⁶

Normally, the narcissistic subject fears the loss of semen, but he may also identify with the semen and with its product, his son, and in this form has a strong attachment for it. He hates members of other groups and fights against them, but when he has killed them he may take semen from them by a cannibalistic ritual or by its equivalent, such as Thagi. In some situations, a man resents sex-relations between a woman of his group and an outsider, while in other situations he will tolerate such relations and welcome the acquisition of semen thus effected.

In the course of time, however, the trend has evidently been away from the acquisition of foreign semen by either method, cannibalism and sexual promiscuity. This is to be attributed to the spread of the pollution complex from the more narcissistic upper castes down the caste scale, so that eventually nearly all the castes have abandoned the desire for alien semen and have acquired the fear of it.

As has been argued above, an important factor in the formation of the pollution complex is the mother fixation and the fantasy of the return to the womb. The stories of Shvetaketu and Dirghatamas illustrate the process. At the present time the clearest evidence of the extension of the pollution complex is the increasing rigour in the treatment of women. Most of the castes have for long been and are still adopting stricter rules: banning promiscuity within the caste and then within the family, imposing fines upon the remarriage of divorcees and widows, banning such remarriage, banning divorce, lowering the age of marriage of girls, and so on. Other cultures of course prize female chastity, but the demand for it does not seem to have been so completely institutionalised elsewhere.

¹⁰⁵ Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, IV.107-9.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, IV.140.

The two roots of this peculiarity are the narcissistic pollution complex, the fear of others' semen, and the mother fixation, the son's identification with the mother.

Professor Srinivas makes some statements which may confirm this suggestion of a connection between the semen complex and the demand for the marriage of girls before puberty. It is said in Mysore that the menstrual flow "is the sin of Brahman-killing in liquid form," and that if a girl is not married before puberty it is threatened that her pitris (ancestors) will drink of her menstrual flow.¹⁰⁷ The former statement recalls the remark of Mamata that Brihaspati's semen will not go in vain. Like the male seed, the female seed ought not to be wasted: the waste of it is equivalent to killing a Brahman. The second statement emphasises in a different but equally strenuous way the paramount need to prevent waste of the female seed: if it is wasted an inconceivable horror, something like incest, takes place. It is a reasonable assumption that this anxiety to save the female seed by marrying girls before puberty derives from the anxiety to prevent the waste of the male seed.

For, through his identification with his mother, the son identifies with all the women of his sub-caste. The husband looks upon his wife as his mother, says the *Mahabharata*.¹⁰⁸ Carstairs's subjects showed more anxiety over failing potency when discussing intercourse with their wives than in relation to affairs with low-caste girls and prostitutes; and also believed that to sleep with a woman older than himself (i.e. his mother) would quickly destroy a man's strength, whereas this effect was not to be feared with younger women.¹⁰⁹ This shows the identification of the women of one's sub-caste, i.e. one's possible wives, with one's mother. Thus the aversion to the pollution of one's own mother's womb by alien semen will extend to the whole sub-caste.

The increasing rigour of the treatment of women shows the spread of the pollution complex down the caste ladder. The other principal evidence is the increase of care about food:

¹⁰⁷ Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, pp. 129, 63.

¹⁰⁸ *MBh.*, Adi P. LXXIV, 35, 47.

¹⁰⁹ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, pp. 84, 166.

restrictions upon the kinds of meat eaten, some restrictions upon vegetable products, and care in regard to the caste of those who have cooked or touched the food material. When a caste tries to rise in the social scale it carries out reforms of both types.

The transition from the desire to acquire foreign semen for the caste to the fear of pollution by foreign semen may have been assisted by other factors. A possible motive is ordinary sexual jealousy. However, sexual jealousy is weaker in the narcissist than in the punitive. In his study of the Mysore castes Nanjundayya seldom says that when a wife commits adultery her husband beats her. I have noticed it only twice (Kadu Kuruba, IV.70; Monderu, IV.221); whereas in dozens of castes the wife's adultery is condoned if she pays a fine.

In other features of the narcissistic culture the prejudices of the older generation prevent change, but it appears not to be so here. This is a matter on which change of feeling has been fairly rapid, and thus is likely to be the work of sons rather than of fathers. As has been remarked above, the puranic stories suggest that it was the son rather than the husband who imposed restraints on the sexual freedom of women.

In his discussion of "Sanskritisation" Professor Srinivas seems to assume only one motive, the desire to rise in the caste hierarchy.¹¹⁰ The narcissistic desire for superiority must have been an important factor in bringing about the change under discussion, but the feeling of superiority does not entirely explain the relations among castes. Thus in modern times there is a ban on all intermarriage, even between sub-castes of the same status. However, the feeling of superiority must always have been closely involved in the rules governing sex relations and food. In earlier times men were allowed to marry women from their own and lower castes, while women could marry only into their own and higher castes. This rule expresses the fear of contamination of the gene-pool with inferior semen, since women are the custodians of the gene-pool. Marriages contravening this rule were disapproved, and the offspring were assigned to lower castes. Sex relations outside marriage but in accordance with the rule were condoned or

¹¹⁰ Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India*, p. 42.

punished lightly; those contravening the rule were punished far more severely. This is still the case. Among the Nambudiri Brahmans adultery with a man of inferior caste is "perhaps the most serious of all caste offences"; but Nambudiri males may enter into sambandham relations with Kshatriya, Ambalavasi, and Nayar women. Similar rules apply to the Mussads, Muttans, and Nambidis.¹¹¹ Among the low castes of Mysore, Nanjundayya's survey shows it to be a fairly uniform rule that a woman guilty of adultery with a man of equal or higher caste may be pardoned, but if he is of lower caste she is out-casted without possibility of pardon. The corresponding rules about food are still widely observed: one may take water and food of certain kinds from higher and equal, but not from lower, caste people.

Summary

Caste has passed through three main phases. In the first phase relations with other castes were governed by the magical or religious feelings called taboo. Probably an element of that character still clings to it. In the second phase, when foreign tribes entered the social organism as new castes preserving much of their tribal character, caste changed accordingly. The relation to other castes must have come to resemble the relation of the tribesman to foreign tribes; in particular, some castes continued the practice of acquiring life-substance from other, or at least from higher, castes. Traces of this feeling still exist. Finally, when a caste acquired the pollution complex, its attitude to other castes was dominated by the feelings concerning pollution, together with the other characteristics of the narcissistic psyche.

Caste is bound up with narcissism in various ways. The weakness of external cathexis limits social solidarity to narrow groups. In particular it tends to limit cathexis to kindred, or people believed to be such, with whom identification is easy. The sub-caste, the unit within which marriage is restricted, is regarded as a kinship group. This tendency to segregation is not merely a negative outcome of the weakness of external cathexis. The narcissistic type shows a posi-

¹¹¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, V.220, 119, 132, 155.

tive urge to withdraw into its tortoise-shell, and this urge is probably transferred by identification to the sub-caste.

The conservatism of the narcissistic society tends to maintain the old taboos and tribal barriers. The superiority feeling resulting from narcissism has the same effect. It is probable also that narcissism accentuates the fear of castration during intercourse with foreign women.

Narcissism expresses itself in the pollution complex, which is traceable to the characteristic fear of the loss of semen. Semen is identified with saliva: hence the parallel between the sex taboos and the food taboos of caste. The fear of the loss of semen, in combination with mother identification, is transformed into the fear of pollution by others' semen. The source of this fear is suggested by ancient stories illustrating the fantasy of the return to the womb and the embryo's resistance to invasion of his domain. The fear expresses itself in the segregation of the co-seminal group, which is the sub-caste. The pollution complex is a pervasive character of the Hindu psyche, which makes itself evident in other ways, especially in the ban on the remarriage of widows.

Occupation

Traditionally, most castes were associated with an occupation. A common cause of the bifurcation of castes is the adoption by some members of a new productive technique or of trade in a new commodity. Those taking to the new way cease to intermarry with the others, and no doubt in time cease to eat together with them.

Occupation and earning have ritual importance, and associations with the sex life. In the ashrama scheme, only the man who was earning a living had the right to be sexually active: as a student he had to observe continence and to beg his bread, and when he ceased sexual activity he again lived by begging. It is the custom in many castes for the man to buy his bride with cash, or alternatively to pay for her by a specified period of work for her father. Until Vijayanagar times, Brahmans paid a bride-price, though since then they have ceased to do so. (A bridegroom price is now usual.) The price for a widow is normally lower than for a virgin.

while a widower has to pay more. Among non-Brahmans in Mysore, if the would-be bridegroom's relatives are satisfied with a prospective bride, they stake their claim by putting a gold ornament on her. If her parents later give her to another suitor, they have to pay a fine.¹¹²

Jewels, and especially gold, play an essential part in the marriage ceremony and symbolise the married woman's status. The widow is allowed no jewels. Money and sex activity are related in other ways. Devadasis and Basavis took money for their services.¹¹³ The symbolic equivalence of gold and semen is established in Hinduism, as in some other cultures. Shiva's semen is gold. The money taken from their victims by the Thugs was a substitute for semen. The commonest symbol for the external soul of a woman is a necklace, which is both sex-organ and jewel.

These facts suggest in a general way the bearing which the mode of earning a living may have upon a social institution which is primarily concerned with sex relations. The relation of some occupations to the pollution complex is well recognised. Until the nineteenth century, a Brahman could not study medicine.

Colour prejudice

Hindus show a marked colour-consciousness. They generally dislike Negroes. They almost universally prefer light skins, especially in spouses and children. They judge female and even male good looks largely by the skin colour. There is some dislike of the physical presence of the dark-skinned. It is difficult to distinguish this from the old caste feeling, for in most parts of India skin colour is a good, though by no means infallible, guide to caste status. However, North Indians show a similar feeling in relation to South Indians whose caste status is just as good as their own, and this appears to be due mainly to the considerably darker skins of South Indians. (There are other factors of less importance, principally the South Indians' non-Sanskritic languages. Language, as associated with the mouth, and the mother, is a focus of strong unconscious feeling.)

¹¹² Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, pp. 21, 60, 88-89.

¹¹³ Srinivas (*op. cit.*, pp. 181-82) denies this about Basavis.

However, the prejudice against dark skins is less intense than the feeling against the brown-skinned shown in North Europe and America, and far less intense than the feeling shown in those areas against Negroes. The Hindu colour feeling also differs from the Western in that it appears to be free from aggressiveness: it is completely satisfied by aloofness or withdrawal; and in that it appears to be directed equally against the two sexes, whereas white men are more strongly prejudiced against Negro men than against women.

The white's prejudice against the dark-skinned probably derives from the Oedipus hatred of the father. The dark-skinned man is identified in the unconscious with the punitive father or Satan; dreams have been cited which confirm this identification. An American psycho-analyst who had witnessed a race-riot drew a striking parallel with the tribal ritual of hunting and killing totem animals;¹¹⁴ such animals are believed to stand for the father.

This view of the origin of white colour feeling explains the fact that it is concentrated mainly against men. It is also supported by the facts about the geographical distribution of the prejudice. It is shown more commonly and strongly by products of the Protestant tradition than by those from Roman Catholic countries. (It was formerly believed that Christians of the Eastern Orthodox tradition were relatively free from colour feeling; but in recent years evidence has accumulated suggesting that they have more of it than Roman Catholics.) Protestants, in general, stress the Old Testament at the expense of the New, and the punitive father-God rather than the submissive Son, and repudiate any special reverence for the Virgin Mary. The Protestant psyche is more punitive than the Roman Catholic. An American Negro leader, who may be supposed to have studied the history of colour prejudice in the West, says that it is first to be noticed in the sixteenth century. He is a Marxist and attributes it to capitalism.¹¹⁵ The same fact supports the surely more plausible view that it is a product of Protestantism.

¹¹⁴ Roheim (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* (1947), pp. 416-17, 423-26.

¹¹⁵ Oliver C. Cox in *Aryan Path* (Bombay, June, 1947), p. 256.

If the Hindu psyche is narcissistic, not punitive, it follows that the Hindu dislike of dark skins is probably not due to the Oedipus hatred of the father. Moreover, the unaggressive character of Hindu colour feeling, and its impartiality as between the sexes, are inconsistent with such a derivation.

Carstairs says that white fluid foods, such as flour, rice, milk, butter, honey, and white sugar, are believed to produce good semen; "white sugar" is a facetious synonym for semen. He describes the offering of these substances to Shiva, made by pouring them on the lingam. "Here is the opposite pole of that strong, unreasoning prejudice against darkness which is evident in many contexts of Hindu life (from the desire to marry a light-complexioned spouse, to the use of black flags and garments as a symbol of deprecation) . . . the emotional bias against dark things is due to the strong investment of feelings concerning the threat of faecal contamination. In contrast, pure uncontaminated semen is highly esteemed."¹¹⁶

Carstairs may be right, though I am not convinced that Hindus show a general strong dislike of dark things—he quotes no more instances; nor that they have an exceptionally strong emotional, as distinct from formal and verbal, horror of faeces. It may be that the dislike of faeces, which is of course a fact, contributes to the dislike of dark skins; but the colour of faeces, especially of the infant's faeces, is not black, or even very dark. More important, I believe, is the positive feeling which he points out for white things, as associated with semen. It will be recalled that of the three gunas, sattva, associated with the colour white, has a clear character and stands for a definite aspiration, whereas tamas, associated with darkness, is a vaguer conception. Tamas also seems to be associated with the dark-skinned primitive population.

Professor Agehananda Bharati has drawn attention to the association between white and the puritanical trend, and between dark colours and the passions. It is a popular belief that light-skinned women are frigid and dark-skinned women are sexually passionate.¹¹⁷ This belief is probably attributable to the semen complex, the fear of the loss of semen.

¹¹⁶ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, pp. 166-67.

¹¹⁷ Agehananda Bharati, *Esthetical Norm*, pp. 18-22.

and its association with white colour. It may be noticed that amrita, the elixir of life, is white, while halahala, the poison which emerged from the stirring of the milk-ocean, and stained Shiva's throat, is black.

As Agehananda remarks, however, there is evidence that at an early period a different feeling prevailed. Out of loyalty to tradition, Rama, Krishna, and Kali are still depicted as blue or black, and Draupadi is described as dark. The possibility suggests itself that the change of feeling which these facts appear to reflect is a product of the pollution complex. The quest for others' semen, which was the ruling principle before the period of the pollution complex, would not lead to an identification of the ego with the semen or its colour, whereas the pollution complex and the conservation of one's own semen seem likely to lead to this identification. White is the symbolic colour of the Brahmans, who show the pollution complex most conspicuously. (It is not probable that they were given the symbolic colour white because of their skin colour, which is unlikely to have differed from that of the Kshatriyas, whose symbolic colour is red, or of the Vaishyas, whose symbolic colour is yellow. Moreover, the Vedic Rishi Kanva is described as black.)

It is possible that the folklore tradition of the snake-girl is a survival from the era before the pollution complex, when dark skins were preferred. The promiscuous women of that time are remembered mainly as creatures of horror, who deprived men of semen or castrated them. But despite the sattvik trend, man has a sneaking fondness for the passionate and promiscuous woman. The snake-girl, though dark, may be admired and loved, and her dangerous character, so long as it does not harm oneself, only adds to her charms. Arjuna married a Naga (snake) princess, Ulupi, who apart from her sexual aggressiveness behaved admirably; and many later princes, real and fictitious, have followed his example. The idea of the snake-girl remains popular, as the film advertisements show.

Note on looking back

Looking back occurs fairly frequently in Indian folk-tales,

but it does not appear always to mean spying on the parents' intercourse. It occurs in the Tamil *Stories of King Madana Kama* (pp. 135, 137, and to the same purport, p. 199). The prince is living in exile in the hut of an old woman. She tells him not to take the cattle northward, but he does so, and sees Indra's daughter bathing. He steals her garment, and she runs naked after him and calls to him to look at her beauty. He looks back, and she turns him to stone. The old woman finds him out, restores him, and advises him to try again, but not to look back; further, he should bring the garment to her hut. He does so, and when he enters the hut, the old woman cuts a pouch in his thigh and conceals the garment in it. She then turns him into a baby. When Indra's daughter enters, the old woman persuades her to marry. She then restores the prince to his true form, and they marry by the gandharva rite. When they leave her, the old woman takes the prince aside and warns him that if Indra's daughter gets her garment back, she will desert him and "take his strength away." Later, Indra's daughter recovers her garment; when she puts it on she flies to heaven, while all her gifts to the prince, including his palace and kingdom, vanish. He retrieves the situation by tapas.

Here looking back is not seeing the parents' intercourse but it is seeing a naked woman, i.e. it is sexual submission, loss of semen, and the result, as in other instances, is that the subject is turned to stone. The garment appears to combine two characters. Like the monkey-skin in "Princess Malika-Jarika," it is the girl's external soul, which puts her in the power of the man who possesses it. It is also the permanent phallus: it is concealed in his thigh, and when he loses it he suffers the loss of his "strength" and of his kingdom. The death of the king is equivalent to the castration of the kingdom; here the loss of the kingdom is the castration of the king. The garment is the external soul of both the prince and his wife. As in other instances, castration or the loss of semen is made good by tapas.

The essential point in the interpretation of the Thugs' story about Bhavani is the association of looking back with the

appropriation of semen. This association is confirmed by the story here cited.

Looking back also occurs in legend 12 in the chapter on Village Goddesses. There, the loss of semen is not explicit, but the Brahmans who looked back at the goddess suffered the loss of their promised reward: half the kingdom.

In the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (ch. 28), the procedure is given for summoning a Pishacha. After various evil observances, rising in the last watch of the night, without rinsing the mouth, walking naked and with hair dishevelled, one leaves rice at crossroads and returns without looking back. Professor Kosambi says that crossroads are associated with female deities. Presumably, then, in this instance also, not looking back means avoiding the loss of semen.

Note on being turned to stone

Ahalya's husband cursed her to become a stone because she had allowed Indra to deprive her of her chastity. Rambha was turned to stone for trying to deprive Viswamitra of his chastity: a case of talion punishment. In the Vikramaditya story referred to in this chapter, the Apsarases sleep with the princes by day and then turn them to stone at night. In the story of Lamia, the king's eyes assume a stony look as a result of intercourse with her. In the story from the Madana Kama cycle, the prince is turned to stone for looking at the naked princess, i.e. as a result of losing semen. In the chapter on Village Goddesses, in legend 6 a stone represents a woman who has been guilty of sexual misconduct; in 19, a girl with magical powers; in 21, a woman who has presumably performed sati; and in 28, a woman who after death has performed a magical feat. In legend 12, a goddess is turned to stone, but it is for the fault of the Brahmans who break their promise not to look back at her; as we have seen, this probably represents a loss of semen by them, the punishment being transferred to her. In 66, the river would turn the travellers to stone if they entered it; they avert this by beheading the image of the river goddess; thus turning to stone represents castration. In 78, a bridegroom is turned to

stone while in his marriage procession; the transformation signifies the feared result of the loss of semen.

A reasonable interpretation is that being turned to stone originally represented the loss of semen. People who hold the life-substance theory might well represent an organism which has lost its life-substance as rendered inanimate, turned to stone. The meaning will then have been extended to cover castration, and the loss of chastity by women. If this is right, the folklore theme of people being turned to stone or salt probably originated in the area of the narcissistic culture, with its strong aversion to the loss of semen.

Chapter 8

THE MOTHER FIXATION

ACCORDING TO the psycho-analytic doctrine, the original condition of the child is completely narcissistic. After some months, it distinguishes between itself and other things. The first of these other things and its first love-object is its mother's breast. The process whereby its attachment shifts from its mother, normally to its father, then to other people and finally to the external world in general, is in part spontaneous, but is affected by external conditions. Important among these conditions are frustrations, especially those due to its mother and father. These provoke aggressiveness, death wishes, and consequently guilt or inward-directed aggressiveness. The character of the child in this respect is largely fixed within the first two or three years. If in that period it is subjected to less frustration than is normal, its development will tend to be delayed, and there is likely to be some fixation at the stage of primary narcissism, and also at the stage of exclusive love for the mother. These two fixations tend, therefore, to go together. Teaching, cultural conditions, and other circumstances in later life can no doubt affect psychic development, but the fixations in infancy are still important, and if the population as a whole shows a marked tendency towards narcissism and devotion to mothers and mother symbols, it is likely that the prevailing mode of upbringing of the children is such as to encourage these fixations.

Information on the crucial first years of life is of course scanty, but as regards the upbringing of children in general, the evidence is that it has been and is of this non-frustrating character. "The general impression obtained from the literature is that in ancient India the child's life was a happy one. Maxims of the type of 'spare the rod and spoil the child' are rare or non-existent. The small child of ancient India

was generally pampered, humoured, and allowed a degree of freedom which few children in Europe obtained till modern times."¹

A Jesuit missionary, Bouchet, travelling in South India in 1720, wrote: "...it is most certain that there is no nation in the world whose parents are more fond of their children; the tenderness of the fathers and mothers in this respect is beyond imagination."² Two centuries later, Gilbert Slater, the economist, who was then teaching in Madras, wrote: "India is a land of spoilt children."³ Halfway between, Dubois wrote at greater length: "Young children will obey their father, because they fear punishment if they do not; but they will overwhelm their mother with abuse, and will insult her grossly, even going so far at times as to strike her. When they grow older they fail to respect even their father, and it often happens that he is obliged to give way to his sons, who have made themselves masters of the house. Strange to say, nowhere are parents fonder of their children than they are in India; but this fondness usually degenerates into weakness. If the children are good, they are extravagantly praised; if they are naughty, their parents show the utmost ingenuity in finding excuses for them...One must, however, do them the justice to say that, after thus having gained the mastery over their parents, they take great care of them, as a general rule, and see that they want for nothing in their old age. But I fancy that in acting thus they are moved less by filial affection than by consideration of what the world will say...At the time of their lives when, according to the laws of nature, the passions should remain unawakened, it is not at all unusual to find children of both sexes familiar with words and actions which are revolting to modesty."⁴

All these reports relate to the South. Sleeman, who knew North and Central India very well, wrote in his book, published in 1844: "There is no country in the world where parents are more revered than in India, or where they more readily

¹ Basham, *Wonder that was India*, pp. 160-61.

² qu. Saletoore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. II.

³ Slater, *Dravidian Element*.

⁴ Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, Ch. XI.

make sacrifices of all sorts for their children.”⁵ An account of middle- and upper-class society in Bengal in the nineteenth century says: “...a Hindu mother seldom engages a wet-nurse; she continues to nurse her child till it is three or four years old, and attends at the same time to her numerous household duties...she communicates to her child what she can out of her own store of simple ideas and superstitious beliefs, but her best gift is the care and tenderness which she lavishes upon it, and the awakening of its young soul to return her love.” “Hindoos are honourably distinguished by their affections for their parents, and they continue to be so even in the mature years of life.”⁶

The distinguished anthropologist D. N. Majumdar studied a village in the Lucknow district in the 1950's, and devoted a chapter of his book to family life. The father, he says, is affectionate to his children, but when the sons grow up they quarrel with him. The child is weaned at two and a half or three. Walking and talking are not forced, and are not perfected till the third year. The child sleeps with its mother till three. There is no toilet training till ten months, and even after that little pressure is exerted. He is expected to cease wetting his bed and soiling his clothes by the age of three. Men do not generally carry children about. The child is not given any deep religious instruction, and has no fear of divine punishment or abhorrence of sin. Obedience is seldom forced. Only in extreme cases are children punished. Correct behaviour is expected of a child only at ten or eleven. A girl's behaviour is restricted from seven or eight. Daughters are a burden; a boy is given more deference. The son in the joint family does what he likes. The father deliberately loosens his hold, for if he attempted to enforce his will the joint family could not run smoothly. Generally, the father and mother are respected. A youth stands in greater awe of his mother than of his father. Children of seven and eight smoke and gamble unchecked. Telling lies is rarely checked. If an article is left unguarded it will be stolen. Children speak rudely to their elders, and when checked reply with

⁵ Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, p. 219.

⁶ Bose, *The Hindoos as They Are*, pp. 28-29, 10.

abuse. Boys sit with their elders making improper jokes about their sisters, mothers, and aunts. "Brought up in this way, the children grow up into men and women whose first thought is about themselves."⁷

Frieda Hauswirth married an Indian husband and lived in Orissa for some years in the 1920's. Her books describe upper- and middle-class life. "Indian men are far more deeply introverted than those of any other race. Life in the joint family, age-long political subjection, and the fact that they are sons of such unfree mothers, have deeply marked them... The repressed bride is rarely able to find in her stranger husband a complement and counterpart, or to obtain through him a normal release of her nature. That she finds a father-substitute in him militates against normal mate-hood. There is an excessive emphasis on bearing a son, and a son has a great effect in making her life in her new home easier. She therefore pours out on him an abnormal amount of love, and expects emotional fulfilment from him rather than from her husband. Mothers feed their sons by hand as late as adolescence, and breast-feed them till the age of five. The outcome of this abnormal upbringing is that the son's sense of proportion is warped, his psychical expansion and socialisation are frustrated. He is afflicted with a strong mother-complex. Hence the intense devotion of Hindus to mother-goddesses."⁸

Sister Nivedita, who gained a remarkable, if one-sided, insight into Indian life, clearly recognised the mother-fixation. "The long babyhood creates a tie that nothing can break... There are no circumstances sufficient in Eastern eyes to justify criticism of a mother by her child... It is told of a famous Bengali judge... when on his deathbed, that his mother stumbled and hurt her foot on the threshold of his room... Another moment and, weak as he was, he had crept across the floor and lay before her, kissing the wounded foot again and again and bathing it in hot tears for the pain it had suffered. Such stories are remembered and repeated in Indian society, not because they occasion surprise, but because they make the man's own name holy."⁹ It would be possible to quote similar

⁷ Majumdar, *Caste and Communication*, pp. 205-31.

⁸ Das, *Purdah*, p. 108.

⁹ Nivedita, *Web of Indian Life*, pp. 21-22.

sentiments from many writers. Thus: "When the human mother is venerated as a kind of divine personage, the reverence due to the divine mother must be proportionately greater."¹⁰

The statements of these authors are in broad agreement and accord with my own observations. In contrast to the English middle-class child, the Hindu child is treated with extreme indulgence. Babies are fed whenever they want it. There is no forcing of the pace in regard to cleanness, walking, talking, or weaning. If the home has a carpet, infants urinate and defaecate on it, usually without much discouragement. The visitor to Bombay notices that they do so on the front steps of blocks of expensive flats. Mothers carry their babies about a great deal, always astride the hip, usually in skin-to-skin contact; this presumably favours the continuance of the erotic relation to the mother. Fathers are indulgent, but have less to do with their children at all ages. An Indian professor of English literature once remarked in my hearing, "The heavy father is unknown in India." An idealised picture of this mode of bringing up children which must have been influential in perpetuating it is given in Skandha 10 of the Bhagavata, the most popular of the Puranas. The child Krishna is very mischievous but irresistibly charming, and all the women dote on him. To judge from the cinema posters, the mischievous small boy is still a sure draw.

I have seen an Indian child of two strike its own head on the floor in anger. At quite early ages children will refuse food—refusing to eat is common tactics in domestic quarrels. Probably the child learns very early that by hurting itself it can compel its mother to give it attention, and the practice is not checked, as it would be in a family of punitives. The child also adopts its mother's attitudes, and so takes to self-injury as a way to self-pity, as in "dharna."

Indian boys are far less quarrelsome than English boys, and show less jealousy as between age-groups. This hostility between age-groups is very marked among English boys, and is institutionalised in school and college customs. It is to be attributed to Oedipus hatred of elder brothers and infantile

¹⁰ Mukerji, *Hindu Fasts*, p. 63.

jealousy of younger brothers. At home, and at the school and college stage, Indian boys are strikingly free from this age-group consciousness. But in later life it appears as the elder brother's jealousy of the younger, mentioned by Jones as characteristic of narcissists, and exemplified by Rama's momentary anger when Bharata took the throne (*see* chapter on the Narcissistic Personality). It is a very common complaint that senior colleagues ignore a bright young man or even obstruct his progress. To be outshone by a younger competitor is galling to anybody, but it is understandable that people of the narcissistic type should feel it more keenly than others. An oft-cited instance is Tagore. He obtained little recognition until he was given the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913; then he became a national hero overnight. It was no longer possible to ignore him, so he was treated in the opposite way: his virtues and fame were introjected, and everybody was able to shine in his reflected glory.

Practical moral training is almost absent in the first two or three years of life. Moral training is given later, but is conducted largely at the verbal level. Practical discipline is applied later still, and does not become at all strict until the age when the English youth is being allowed a relaxation of discipline and is being treated as a man. Indian undergraduates are always addressed and referred to as "boys." Up to the age of two or three all communities seem to treat their children much alike. After that age intellectual families begin systematic teaching, and in later years the children are subjected to a rigorous scholastic discipline. But by this time the period of character formation is largely over.

The result of indulgent treatment in the first years followed later by teaching which is mainly of a verbal type, is a high ego-ideal and a weak super-ego. Where even later training is deficient, as in the village described by Majumdar, the ego-ideal is ill-developed. But these villagers, though somewhat quarrelsome, are not deeply aggressive. Also, in accordance with the weakness of the Oedipus conflict, they are lacking in ambition and the will to better their lot. Among those who are more carefully brought up, the result of later teaching is not to alter the narcissistic personality structure, but to

produce a habit of behaviour which is free from the more obvious narcissistic traits.

In later childhood many are taught an extreme subservience to the father; until recently it was common to touch his feet and even to prostrate oneself before him. This has misled Dr. Dharendra Narain and Mr. Koestler into treating the Hindu psyche as more punitive than the Western. I believe that they are mistaken. The subservience to the father is quite compatible with narcissistic attitudes, and is possible only because the positive Oedipus complex is weakly developed. The joint family, in which it was possible to find the grandfather, several sons and many grandsons all married and living together more or less peaceably, could hardly have persisted if the Hindu psyche had harboured the strong unconscious hostility to the father which is found in the West. Majumdar says that the father deliberately relaxes his authority in order to allow the joint family to get along.

Girls are treated with less indulgence than boys. Correspondingly, foreign observers agree in ascribing to Indian women a more practical character than is shown by their men-folk. Some of the ancient stories suggest that the Hindus recognised the contrast. Nala, a diceaddict, gambled away his kingdom and had to go into exile. In the forest he deserted his wife while she was asleep. The rest of the long story is almost entirely concerned with Damayanti's heroic and eventually successful efforts to find him out and get his kingdom back, with very little co-operation from him. Satyavan was doomed to an early death. Despite that, Savitri insisted on marrying him. Then when Yama took him away she followed them to the nether world and pleaded so persistently that the Lord of the Dead allowed her to lead her husband back to life. This time there was no co-operation at all from him. Saivya's husband committed a sin and died. She burnt on his funeral pyre and was reborn as a princess, but he was reborn as a dog. She was sinless and so could remember her former life and recognise her former husband. She sought him out and reminded him of his sin. He repented and died, and was reborn as a jackal. Again she sought him out and reminded him of his sin, and he repented and died and was

reborn as a wolf. She repeated the process, and he was reborn as a vulture, then a crow, a peacock, and a prince, whom she married. He reigned gloriously, and they brought up a family. Finally he died, and she burned on his funeral pyre for the second time, and they went to heaven.¹¹ It will be remembered that in the Samkhya philosophy the spiritual principle, the purusha, which is male, is purely passive, while the material principle, the prakriti, which is female, is responsible for all phenomena.

"There is no country in the world," says Dubois, "where greater attention is paid to what may be described as outward propriety. What we call love-making is utterly unknown among the Hindus. . . Even if a husband indulged in any familiarities with his own wife it would be considered ridiculous and in bad taste."¹² This is still the case today. In the unconscious, the narcissistic son castrates himself to gain his father's favour; Carstairs speaks of the inhibition of the son's sex activity in the presence of his father.¹³ This puritanical decorum has become part of the ego-ideal and rules all groups in society. It is said equally to govern the behaviour of prostitutes.

The natural inference is that sex behaviour in private is seldom such as to provoke the jealousy of the male infant and thus accentuate the Oedipus conflict. On this very important point, however, Carstairs takes the opposite view. "Small children are considered too young to be aware of adult sexuality, so no attempt is made to prevent their being witnesses of their parents' intercourse. Here it encounters a new aspect of its hitherto exclusively attentive mother, and sees in its father an overwhelming rival claimant for her love." "The very marked insistence on the need to submit oneself unreservedly to one's father's authority, to treat him as a god, suggested that the relationship was not an effortless one. . . but the alternative of defying one's father's command was generally regarded as unthinkable."¹⁴

¹¹ *Vishnu P.*, III. 18.

¹² Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, ch. XII.

¹³ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 69.

However, his other observations support the view adopted here. He admits that the severe training, which results in the restrained behaviour characteristic of Hindus, takes place in later years. He quotes the child psychologist Dr. Lois Murphy as remarking on "the smiling spontaneity" of Indian infants, and "their relative unresponsiveness and lack of initiative in later childhood." Again, "From his mother and his substitute mothers a boy learns...the obligation to submit unconditionally to the male head of the family."¹⁵ This suggests that the boy is adopting the mother's attitude to the father, i.e. the passive homosexual attitude. Carstairs's account of the father's attitude to the son has the same implication. "The child's father is an aloof, seemingly unwelcome figure. The reason for this is that a man, so long as he remains under his own father's roof, must keep up the fiction of denying that he leads an active sexual life of his own. This taboo perpetuates in each generation the tension which exists between father and son; and it is very strong."¹⁶ But, on Carstairs's view that the son's mentality is the normal punitive one, the aloof, unwelcome father would provoke frequent explosions. The father's attitude is tolerable only because the son's attitude is passive.

Again, Carstairs says: "Paranoid reactions are to be traced in one type of outcome of the Oedipus situation, namely that in which the boy assumes a passive role and in fantasy has a homosexual love relationship with his father. But while he longs to be possessed in this way, the child also fears and repudiates his desire; hence the transition from 'I love him,' through 'I hate him,' to 'He hates me,' on which delusions of persecution are based...Although they showed marked paranoid tendencies, my informants were far from obsessional; and this at first was puzzling."¹⁷ This is the type of outcome of the Oedipus situation which is postulated in this book, and the paranoid reactions which ought to be expected are in fact to be noticed. Projection has often been mentioned as typical of the Hindu psyche. Its commonest form is the attribution

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 149.

¹⁶ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 163.

to others of one's own conscious or unconscious motives. I have been struck ever since I came to India by the frequency and confidence with which people claim to understand others' motives. Paranoid phenomena approaching the pathological level are common: I can recall six Hindu acquaintances who show highly developed delusions of persecution. Delusions of grandeur, the simplest manifestation of the narcissist's unconscious, are even commoner. On the other hand, obsessionals are rare. Obsessionals would be expected on Carstairs's assumptions, and their absence rightly puzzled him.

Carstairs considers that the suspiciousness commonly shown by Hindus, which has been noted by other foreign observers such as E. M. Forster, is due to the prolonged, intimate relation to the mother, and the sudden breaking off of that relation which is almost inevitable at some point. Mr. K. V. Rajan takes the same view.¹⁸ It may be so, but it should be noticed that this explanation depends entirely on the relation to the mother, and that suspiciousness, like other paranoid phenomena, is to be expected especially in people of the narcissistic type.

I conclude therefore that Carstairs is mistaken in supposing that the Hindu personality type is punitive. Most of his observations support the view that it is narcissistic.

Dr. M. Cormack obtained information from ten educated Hindu women who were unacquainted with the ideas of psychoanalysis. Some of her questions concerned conflicts between parents and children in the family life they knew at home. "All were of the opinion (after having it explained to them) that the Oedipus complex does not exist in India... sons sometimes rebel, though very much less often than in our society."¹⁹ Admittedly, such judgements have little weight: the fact is given for what it is worth. The account of the upbringing of Hindu children set forth in Cormack's book agrees generally with that given above.

Inheritance of the type

Freud appears to have been doubtful how far external events

¹⁸ Devanandan (ed.), *Human Person, Society and State*, pp. 35, 40.

¹⁹ Cormack, *The Hindu Woman*, p. 22.

in infancy are responsible for the various types of adult personality structure. He held that much of the development he discovered is, or can be, entirely internal, i.e. a matter of conscious or unconscious fantasy. However, it can hardly be doubted that external events have some effect; otherwise, it is difficult to see how systematic differences of personality structure as between one culture and another come about. For there can be little doubt that the personality structure is largely fixed in the first few years, before the psyche is exposed to the higher products of culture.

Since the Hindu personality type has remained recognisable for many centuries, it must be such that it reproduces itself in the next generation. In a general way, it can be seen that this is so.

Male dominance is universal in the period of civilisation, but it has gone farther in India than elsewhere. In particular, the disparity in age between husband and wife is unusual. Manu (IX.94) contemplated a difference of sixteen or eighteen years. The Mysore Census of 1901 found that the average difference was nine years.²⁰ This wide difference is due to the narcissist's pollution complex, which demands the marriage of girls before puberty (*see* chapter on Caste), and no doubt to the general desire of the narcissistic male for a safe margin of superiority over his wife. Together with polygamy, also a manifestation of narcissism, it must lead to neglect of the wife. Mr. K. V. Rajan says: "In our culture, love as tenderness and we-ness is seldom sought or understood in marital life. Love has become merely functional... Even after marriage the man spends most of his time with his men friends, in preference to his wife's company... the wife clings to her children for meaningful existence and may not allow them to grow out of their home... It is not uncommon for a spiritual teacher to require his disciples to give up sex altogether."²¹ Rajan is a trained analyst and social worker, and his statement, though it may seem over-pitched, has some basis in fact. But, whether or not Hindu husbands neglect their wives, Hindu fathers do not neglect their sons. As Carstairs says, there is a convention

²⁰ Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, p. 64.

²¹ Devanandan (*ed.*), *Human Person*, pp. 47-48.

of aloofness, but he mentions instances in which fathers defied it and showed their love for their sons. Those who do not show it in a straightforward way often betray it by making great sacrifices for their sons' education, and the like. Hindu fathers appear, in fact, to love their sons more than is normal.

At first sight, this may seem inconsistent with the narcissistic character, but it is explained by the narcissist's identification with his own semen, and therefore with his son. The ancient books contain a number of statements pointing to this identification. "That which is semen is the vigour come together from all the limbs. In the self, indeed, one bears a self. When he sheds this in a woman, he then gives it birth. That is its first birth. While he nourishes the child before birth and after the birth, he thus nourishes his own self. . . This is one's second birth. He (the son) who is one self of his (father) is made his substitute for (performing) pious deeds. Then the other self of his (father's) having accomplished his work, having reached his age, departs. So departing hence, he is, indeed, born again. That is his third birth."²² This passage makes plain both the fact of identification with the son, and its source in identification with the semen, "come together from all the limbs."

Trying to persuade Dushmanta to accept their son, Sakuntala said: "The learned men of old say that the husband himself, entering the womb of his wife, comes out as the son"; and the Voice from Heaven repeated: "The son, sprung from the father, is the father himself. . . The husband divides his body into two parts and is born in the womb of his wife as the son."²³ Similarly Draupadi said: "One's own self is begotten on one's wife. . . A wife should protect her husband, remembering that he will take birth in her womb."²⁴ The marriage ceremony of some castes in Mysore includes the husband's prayer: "May Indra bless thee with ten sons. Make me thy eleventh."²⁵ The *Katha Sarit Sagara* makes Indra say: "...one's son is said to be a second self" (ch. 49); and testifies to the love of fathers for sons even in royal families: "Why do kings care

²² *Aitareya Up.*, II. 1-4.

²³ *MBh.*, Adi P., LXXIV, 35, 109, 111.

²⁴ *MBh.*, Vana P., XII.70.

²⁵ Srinivas, *Marriage and Family*, p. 77.

so much about those sons that hanker after their kingdom and eat up their fathers like crabs?" (ch. 28.)

The uncommonly intense desire for a son among Hindus is well recognised. It is traditionally attributed to the doctrine that unless his son performs his obsequies a man's soul cannot go to heaven. This tends to confirm the psycho-analytic view that the soul is originally the semen. The *Aitareya Brahmana* says: "By means of a son have fathers ever passed over the deep darkness. The self is born from the self, the son is a ship, well-founded, to ferry over... a son is a light in the highest heaven. The father entereth the wife, having become a germ he entereth the mother, in her becoming renewed... The gods said to men, 'This is your mother again.' A sonless one cannot attain heaven."²⁶

This unusually strong cathexis on the semen as part of the self is clearly narcissistic. Thus men of the narcissistic type identify with their sons, and therefore love them more intensely than men of the punitive type do.

Both parents, then, have an uncommon degree of love for their sons, and so treat them indulgently, with the result that the son's psychic structure is moulded in the narcissistic form and he is fixated on his mother. So far, therefore, as it is dependent on treatment in infancy, the narcissistic personality type tends to reproduce itself.

Art and religion

The worship of goddesses, and more particularly of mother goddesses, is to be attributed to the mother fixation. Most of the South Indian village deities are goddesses. Most of the gods of the orthodox pantheon have wives, to whom worship is given, together with the god and sometimes independently. In the temple, the most sacred room, from which the image is never removed, is small and dark and normally has only one narrow entrance, and is called the garbhagriha (womb house).

Painting and sculpture concentrate on the female form, and even if the figure is a virgin it is apt to be given noticeable breasts. If it is an Apsaras, and so meant to be seduc-

²⁶ *Aitareya Br.*, VII.13.

tive, the breasts are always very big and prominent, as of course they are if it is a married woman. There are innumerable literary allusions to the weight and size of the breasts.

In contrast to European literature, in which heroines are almost invariably maidens, many of the popular heroines of Hindu literature are married women, some with children. Dr. Humayun Kabir remarks that the heroines of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's popular novels are regarded from the angle of a son, rather than of a lover or husband.²⁷

The mother fixation is somewhat more obvious in Bengal than elsewhere. The partition of Bengal in 1905 seems to have been felt as a violation of the mother: it provoked a quite unexpected protest, which was the start of the mass nationalist movement and gave a great impetus to the conspiratorial movement. Berkeley-Hill, who came to India about that time, pointed out that this movement showed evidence of over-determination, and in discussing it referred to cow worship and the mother fixation.²⁸

The unique veneration accorded to the cow in Hinduism seems clearly to be related to the mother fixation. The Vedic and related Iranian texts show a high valuation of the cow, which, however, may be normal in pastoral communities. But the burial rite mentioned in the *Rigveda* shows that the cow was identified with the mother. This was at a period when the evidence would suggest that the mother fixation was not uncommonly strong. It became so in later ages, and with that development the respect for the cow grew into veneration.

Water symbolises the amniotic fluid, the womb, and the mother. The Hindus' veneration for rivers, lakes, and the sea is to be attributed to the mother fixation. When the corpse has been burnt, a bone or ashes are thrown into the sea or a river, preferably the Ganges, evidently symbolising the return to the womb. The fantasy of the return to the womb is common. In the old stories many precocious embryos recited the Veda. Ashtavakra spoke from the womb to correct his learned father Kohada, who cursed him for his impertinence.²⁹

²⁷ Kabir, *Sarat Chandra Chatterjee*, p. 26.

²⁸ "Hindu-Muslim Unity," *Int. J. of Psycho-Analysis* (1925), p. 282.

²⁹ *MBh.*, Vana P., CXXXII, 10-12.

The *Agni Purana* refers to the dream of returning to the womb and says it is inauspicious.³⁰

Some of the lawgivers prescribed sailing on the sea for a hundred yojanas as the penance for killing a Brahman. It is believed that the association thus established between going to sea and Brahmanicide accounts for the ban on crossing the sea which was observed by many castes until forty or fifty years ago.³¹ Going to sea was prescribed as a penance presumably because, though disagreeable and dangerous, it was holy. The curious prohibition on travel by sea may therefore be attributed, in a roundabout way, to the mother fixation.

Reference has been made above to the narcissistic tendency to retreat for safety to the tortoise-shell mentioned in the *Gita*. This attitude is also attributable to the unconscious desire to retreat to the mother's womb, and in some instances the associated imagery suggests that this is the main source of the impulse. Such an instance is the story of the White Six-Tusked Elephant (Jataka 514). The Bodhisattva was the king of the elephants. His younger queen felt slighted, and starved herself to death, desiring to be reborn as a human queen, who would take revenge upon him. It was so, and she compelled the human king to send a hunter to bring her her former husband's tusks. He shot the elephant king with a poisoned arrow. The elephant rushed at the hunter, but seeing the yellow robe which the queen had told him to wear, was pacified, heard his story, and divined the truth. So he allowed the hunter to saw off his tusks, and when the hunter fumbled he took the saw in his trunk and sawed them off himself. When the queen saw the tusks she died of sorrow.

The theme of self-castration in order to enter the womb of the aggressive mother is clear, but what concerns us here is the account of the elephants' abode. "Now lake Chaddanta was fifty leagues long and fifty leagues broad. In the middle of it, for a space extending twelve leagues, no sevlala or panaka plant is found, and it consists of water in appearance like a

³⁰ *Agni P.*, CCXXIX, 7.

³¹ Basu, Judgment.

magic jewel. Next to this, encircling this water, was a thicket of pure white lilies, a league in breadth. Next to this, and encircling it, was a thicket of pure blue lotuses, a league in extent." And so on, with league-deep thickets of other flowers, bean-plants, sugarcane, etc., the whole surrounded by seven circular ranges of mountains, of which the highest, of gold, was seven leagues high. On the north-east of the lake grew a banyan tree, under which the elephants took shelter from the heat, and on the west of the lake was a golden cave in which they took shelter from the rain. The womb imagery, of the lake, the flowers, the successive rings of vegetation and mountains, the overhanging banyan tree and the golden cave, is unmistakable, and suggests that this is also the inspiration of the mythical geography set forth in the Puranas.

"As Jambudwipa is encircled all round by the ocean of salt water like a bracelet, so that ocean is also girt by the insular continent Plaksha...Plakshadwipa is girt, as if by a disc, by the sea of molasses." There are seven rings of land and seven of liquids, including ghee and curds, and each of these circular or annular islands contains seven mountains and seven rivers. "Such is the earth with all its continents, mountains and oceans and exterior shell...It is mother and nurse of beings, the foremost of all elements and the stay of all the worlds." The enclosure is completed in the third dimension by the seven hells below and the seven heavens above.³² The seven heavens may have been suggested, as in other ancient cultures, by the seven planets, but the concentric rings of land and sea are, so far as I know, unique, and as the phrase "mother and nurse" bears witness, seem to be inspired by the desire to retreat for safety to the womb.

The psycho-analysts say that smoking owes its popularity in part to its resemblance to the sucking which the child practises from the first day of its life. (No psycho-analyst appears to have pointed out the anal derivation of this habit.) Smoking is no more common than in the West, but among males it is hardly less so, despite the expense and the hostility of respectable puritanism. Chewing pan, however, is almost an Indian speciality. It is nearly universal, again despite

³² *Vishnu P.*, II, IV-VII.

the cost and the disapproval of the orthodox. It appears to lack any stimulating quality, such as explains the popularity of tobacco, and to the unsophisticated taste, at least, the flavour is unpleasant. It is likely, therefore that pan is a substitute for the mother's breast.

I have always attributed the striking popularity of milk and all its derivatives, and of sweets, to the mother fixation. Carstairs, however, brings forward evidence that it is also due to the identification of these substances with semen.³³

In a number of village ceremonies, men dress as women, suggesting identification with the mother. The clearest case, perhaps, is the annual festival of the Palli caste at Kuvvakkam, South Arcot. They say that the Kauravas sacrificed a white elephant for victory, so the Pandavas had to sacrifice something precious, and Arjuna's son Aravan offered himself. He was sacrificed when young and unmarried, so the men of this caste offer to marry him, some taking a vow to do so. They come dressed as women, each with a tali (woman's marriage emblem), which he pays the priest to tie round his neck. When the moment of the symbolic sacrifice comes, they lament loudly.³⁴ Thurston mentions observances involving transvestism by some other castes.³⁵ He also says that several castes practise the couvade or something resembling it, which suggests that the husband identifies with his wife.³⁶ In his survey of the religious practices of the South Indian villagers, Elmore mentions two which involve transvestism; in one, he says that the goddess enters the man who is disguised as a woman.³⁷ In his book on the same subject, Whitehead mentions two more instances; in one, men wear talis and pretend to marry Indra.³⁸

It has been remarked above that a man who offers satyagraha according to the injunctions of Mahatma Gandhi adopts the attitude of a woman trying to persuade a man to do something he does not want to do. The same is true

³³ Carstairs, *Twice-Born*, p. 84.

³⁴ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI. 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 239; IV. 16; VI. 107.

³⁶ Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 547.

³⁷ Elmore, *Dravidian Gods*, pp. 18-19, 37.

³⁸ Whitehead, *Village Gods*, pp. 27, 58.

of the operations of the Thugs. Each Thug expedition began with worship of the Goddess Bhavani and the ritual consumption of sugar, probably representing milk. They never attacked their victims openly, even if it would have been safe to do so; they always went through the ritual of smiling seduction. They strangled, i.e. symbolically castrated, the victims. They often employed women as decoys, and women are known to have wielded the noose. They regarded murders as sacrifices to the Goddess. They were strictly forbidden to attack women, and most Thugs attributed their downfall to their breach of this law. "No Thug was ever known to offer insult, either in act or speech, to women whom they were about to murder."³⁹ They buried the victims in Mother Earth, and gave a share of the spoils to Bhavani. It is probable that the procedure came down from the ritual seduction, coitus, castration, and death of the annual lover of the Great Mother. But though they had forgotten the origin of the cult, the Thugs' adherence to their ritual, and their courtesy to women victims, suggest that they still unconsciously identified with the Goddess.

The incest taboo

The passage from the *Aitareya Brahmana* quoted above ends as follows: "A sonless one cannot attain heaven, all the beasts know this; therefore a son his mother and his sister mounteth. This is the broad and auspicious path along which men with sons fare free from sorrow; on it beasts and herds gaze, for it they unite even with a mother." Compare this with the following from the *Yogatattva Upanishad*: "That breast from which one sucked before he now presses and obtains pleasures. He enjoys the same genital organ from which he was born before. She who was once his mother will now be wife and she who is now wife is (or will be) mother. He who is now father will be again son, and he who is now son will be again father."⁴⁰

These ideas result naturally from the semen complex and the identification of the father with the son. But their frank

³⁹ Sleeman, *Thug*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ *Thirty Minor Upanishads*, pp. 200-1.

expression raises the question whether the repression of the strictly sexual desire for the mother is as strong as it is elsewhere. The implication of the psycho-analysts' myth is that the cause of the taboo on incest with the mother is fear of castration by the father. People of the narcissistic, mother-fixated type have this fear, but it appears to be weaker than in the punitive, where it is reinforced by the guilt associated with aggressive feelings against the father, from which the narcissistic type is relatively free. It would not be surprising therefore if in this type the incest taboo were correspondingly less intense.

Actual incest is probably less common than in Europe, where according to Flugel it is of more frequent occurrence than is usually supposed. This difference may, however, be due to other factors, the most obvious being the relative absence of privacy. The joint family tradition, overcrowding due to poverty, and architectural styles adapted to a hot climate combine to make privacy far less easily obtained than in Europe. The anthropological surveys which I have read record only one caste or tribe, the Kudiya of South Kanara, among whom intercourse between mother (widow) and son is said to have been tolerated, and one, the Pulluvan of Kerala, in which brother and sister formerly cohabited.⁴¹

A comparative study

The only systematic attempt known to me to compare Indian and Western children from a psychological standpoint was made by the well-known missionary and educationist, J. S. Hoyland, in 1916-17. He published his results at the time in the missionary journal, *The Forerunner*, in a book, *An Investigation*, from which the citations below are drawn, and in summary form in the *Indian Journal of Psychology* in 1926. He used test questions identical with those given to American and British children some twenty years before by Earl Barnes; thus, a direct comparison was possible. The main test, conducted by himself, covered over 1,000 boys and 100 girls between 9 and 18, mostly in the North, but a few in Madras. Over 700 were Hindus, 250 Muslims, and nearly

⁴¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV. 97; VI. 229.

200 Christians. Almost all were pupils in missionary schools, and were, therefore, from the lower income groups. This test was supplemented by one given to 300 boys and 60 girls in schools in a rural area in Madhya Pradesh; 80 of these boys were in secular schools; and by a test given to 436 boys, of whom 400 were Hindus, from secular high schools in Madhya Pradesh; these were all boys, and mainly from better-off families. The questions were asked, and almost all the answers were written, in the children's own languages. The following points are given substantially in Hoyland's words.

The Indian child is markedly more susceptible than the Western child to religious and ethical influences and ideals, and less susceptible to materialistic considerations. The interest which religious characters have for the Indian child is many times greater than that which they have for the Western child. Much the most influential of these characters is Christ. Qualities of character appeal to Indian children very much more than any other characteristic, and hence are much the greatest factor in conditioning hero-worship. The religious character has more attraction for the Indian Christians than for the Hindus. Patriotism appeals most to the Hindus. (These results are in agreement with the high ego-ideal of Indians. Allowing for the fact that these children were mostly in missionary schools, it remains true that Christ is a non-punitive figure whom most Hindus recognise as nearer to them than to his official worshippers.)

The Hindus are much more indefinite than the Indian Christians in their negative ideals; 64 per cent of the Christians chose special objects of aversion, but only 41 per cent of the Hindus. Fifty-seven per cent of Indian boys, but only 12½ per cent of American boys, gave indefinite or no replies when asked to name somebody whom they would not wish to be like. Treachery and disloyalty are strongly disliked by Western boys, but this feeling is much less marked among the Indians. (These results accord with the weakness of aggressiveness in the Hindu psyche, and with the weakness of the libidinal tie beyond the kinship group.)

Asked what they would choose if they could have what

they liked, Hindus are more sensible than other Indians in eschewing the choice of transient possessions. The Hindus excel the others in the preference of altruistic ideals. Girls are less eager than boys for goodness and character. Fifty-eight per cent of the English children, but only 12 per cent of the Indians, chose permanent objective possessions. Sixty-six per cent of the Indians, to 20 per cent of the English, chose subjective possessions. The Indian child is much less concretely minded. His thoughts and ambitions are connected with things of the mind and spirit rather than with material things. The English child is more ready to choose a vocation for itself. Asked what is a gentleman, the Indian answers showed less interest in good manners, and in material possessions, and more in religious, more in intellectual, and more in moral qualities than the Westerners. Among the Indians, the girls were more interested in rank and position, and less in moral qualities, than the boys. Asked what job they would like to do when grown up, the Indian children were far less definite in their choices than the Westerners, and Indian boys less definite than girls. The interest in altruistic vocations was much stronger with Indian girls than with Indian boys, and much more marked in India than in the West. Asked the reasons for their choice, far fewer Indian boys than Western boys gave clear answers. Indian girls were much clearer than Indian boys. The motives of religion, altruism, position, and honour were much stronger in India. The materialistic motive, and those of interest and imitation, were markedly weaker in India. (These results, again, are in agreement with the high ego-ideal. The results as between the sexes, though of variable implication, generally agree with our view that girls are less subject to the influences which make for an idealistic outlook. The weakness of the impulse to imitate is again noticed.)

Indian children have less idea of the meaning of public spirit, and less fondness for truth for its own sake, though their motives for lying are more altruistic, than in the West. A question asked was: a boy had an uncle who gave him presents, but once sent him one he did not like; then the uncle came to see him and asked him how he liked it; what

would you have answered? Half the Christian and Hindu boys chose the truth, about 40 per cent altruistic lies, and the rest evasions. Thirty-seven per cent of the girls chose the truth, and 52 per cent altruistic lies. Of the English children, 72 per cent chose the truth. In both countries, the proportion of evasions rose with age.

The Indian child has a much less developed critical faculty than the Western, much less knowledge about common objects, and less ability to express what he knows. Elementary thought processes appear to persist longer than in the West. A question was: Of what are you most afraid? Among Indians, religious fear and fear of sin were much less common among girls than boys. As compared with Americans, Indians showed far more religious fear, more fear of ghosts, more of teachers, and far less fear of the dark. What would you do if you saw a ghost? What is a ghost like? Far fewer Indians than Americans said that they did not believe in ghosts. In both countries, some who said this proceeded to say what they would do if they saw one. Americans have much more vivid ideas of the appearance of a ghost. The Americans were more afraid, but more declared that they would fight it. Many Indians but no Americans said they would pray. Among the Indians, more Christians than Hindus, and more boys than girls, said they would pray. A question was: Write down something that happened before you were born and that you know is true; how do you know it is true? How do you know that such a man as Akbar ever lived? Among the Indians, the Christians showed better discrimination than the Hindus in choosing historical events; some Hindus chose mythical events. The Christians had more sense of evidence. Girls showed better in both respects than boys. The Americans showed a much better sense of evidence. The children were asked to define a number of common objects—knife, flower, etc. The results were summarised thus: The course of development of interests is essentially similar in Indian and American children; in America, the sexes develop in the same way, whereas in India, the girls excel from 10 to 13 but after that fall far behind; Indian children show less interest in form and colour; Indian children are considerably behind in

knowledge of common objects and ability to express what they know; boys have more power of generalisation than girls, and more interest in action; girls excel in sense of structure and form; the Indian teen-ager differs from the Westerner in an undue emphasis on the use of the environment—a prolongation of the child's interest—in deficient power of analysis, and in deficient perception of form. (These results point to a slower mental development in India, attributable perhaps to the weakness of the Oedipus conflict and the consequent lack of ambition and drive.)

Home discipline has a much stronger influence in the West, especially over girls. Conversely, school discipline has a much stronger influence in India, especially over boys. Indian children are much more docile and ready to accept discipline without question, than Western children. A question concerned two robbers, one of whom escaped while the other was captured; the penalty under the law was five years in prison; what would you do to the one who was caught? In both India and America, 40 per cent favoured punishment according to law and about 60 per cent were against it. But, in America, the proportion in favour of punishment according to law rose with age, whereas in India it fell. The Indian boys showed a much greater regard for the law than the girls. But many more girls than boys wanted the punishment to be increased. Girls did not favour corporal punishment. More girls favoured letting him off with a warning. More Christians than Hindus favoured leniency. They were asked: Describe a punishment which you have received that you thought was just (unjust); why was it just (unjust)? The conclusions showed that home discipline has only one quarter of the influence of school discipline among Hindus, and far less than that among Christians. The parents' discipline has most impression on very young boys and at 16 to 18, least at 12. The moral sense of Hindus is especially sensitive to disobedience, and of Christians to quarrelling. Docility, inability, or disinclination to decide whether or not punishment is just, is very prevalent; it is more marked among girls than boys, and among Hindus than Christians. The Western children were more insensitive to injustice than the Indian

children. (These results confirm the judgement that Hindu home discipline is weak, and suggest the outcome of the Hindu and Western styles of upbringing. In the West, practical discipline is imposed before the end of the first year, and begins to be relaxed in the teens. In Hindu homes early discipline is very weak, but in educated homes, at least, becomes stricter as time goes on, reaching a maximum in the teens, when the children have to be compelled to study and prevented from getting up to mischief with the other sex. The disinclination to question the justice of punishment results from the weak Oedipus conflict and the consequent weak aggressiveness and the passive homosexual attitude to the father.)

It would be wrong to give great weight to this survey. The numbers, especially of girls, were rather small, and the mission school atmosphere may have been responsible for some distortion. But the differences found between Indian and Western children were very definite, and in nearly every case such as would be expected on the hypotheses of this book. So far as it goes, the survey confirms the views here put forward.

Chapter 9

THE ANAL FACTOR

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF the Hindu psyche which were the first to be discussed in psycho-analytic terms are those ascribed to an anal fixation. The psycho-analysts accept that as the twig is bent the tree will grow. Freud's data were obtained mainly from adult subjects, but they suggested inferences, later supplemented by some direct observation, about the emotional development of infants shortly after, and even before, birth. He inferred that the first centre of concentration of the libido of the new-born child is the mouth—the oral phase. After some months, interest develops in the anus and excrement; later still in the sex-organ. It is supposed that all adults retain effects implanted at these stages, but the degree in which they are shown varies. If they are unusually intense, the psycho-analysts speak of an oral fixation or an anal fixation, anal-erotic or anal-sadistic manifestations, and so on. These manifestations may be more or less direct; thus an unusually intense dislike of bad smells or interest in sanitation are regarded as expressions of an anal fixation, but the same phrase may be used to refer to the far less closely related symptom of miserliness, which is attributed to a fixation in the phase when the child learnt to control the sphincter ani and gained pleasure from retention of the faeces.

In 1921 Owen Berkeley-Hill, a distinguished psychiatrist who had then worked in India for a number of years, published a long paper¹ discussing the current behaviour and ancient literature of the Hindus from this point of view. It summarises a good deal of reading and observation, and is of great interest, though I venture to think that its argument is unsound. His main points are set forth briefly in the following paragraphs.

¹ "The Anal-Erotic Factor...", *Int. J. Ps.-An.* (1921), pp. 306-38.

During infancy the early positive interest in faeces is repressed and replaced by a reaction formation against dirt. Hindus show this conspicuously. The chief psychical impulse in the observances of caste is the fear of pollution. He considers this fear probably responsible for the pre-pubertal marriage of girls and the ban on the remarriage of widows. The pollution complex can develop into a comprehensive disgust of the body. The *Maitri Upanishad*, 1.3, describes the body as consisting of blood, mucus, ear-wax, eye-gum, and a whole list of repulsive substances. This disgust of the body leads to indifference to material surroundings—a tolerance of shabby towns, houses, and furnishing, and a general indifference to comfort and even appearances.

One expression of the anal fixation is the flatus complex. Berkeley-Hill cites passages from agamas which give stobhas to be pronounced: "Am to the forehead, Am to the mouth, Im to the right eye, Im to the left eye..." The belief in mantras, in the sphota doctrine, in precision in language, pronunciation, and grammar, all express this complex. The breathing practice, which plays so important a part in yoga, and the doctrine of the various kinds of breath, derive from this source. Yet another expression of the flatus complex is the conception of the brahman (from the root brih, to expand) and of the atman, a "divine afflatus" which permeates and breathes through all things. Jones argued that the legend of the conception of Christ through the ear of the Virgin Mary arises from the flatus complex; if so, the legend of the birth of Karna through the ear of Kunti probably comes from the same source.

Closely associated with the anal fixation is the infantile "omnipotence of thought." This begins independently as a result of the mother anticipating the infant's wants or responding quickly to its cries: we continue throughout life to feel that our emotions, especially our sorrows, transform external reality and cannot be without objective effect. However, the omnipotence of thought is prolonged in the anal phase by the sense of power given by flatus, and by the first achievement of control over the limbs: hence "omnipotence with the help of magic gestures." The mudras, postures of

the hands, believed to have religious or magical significance, and performed together with otherwise meaningless syllables, are probable instances.

The control of the sphincter ani, which is established after much effort in the first year, may be invested with an uncommon charge of affect and result in a general passion for self-control. Berkeley-Hill thinks that this is shown in yoga, and in the efficacy ascribed to asceticism.

Self-control also manifests itself in a desire for order and accuracy. The elaborate ritual system of Hinduism, which must be practised with the utmost care, seems to express this feeling, as do the minute regulations for the conduct of daily life laid down in the dharmashastras. So does the Hindus' delight in definition, logical inferences, and legal and metaphysical subtleties.

The interest in faeces shows itself in the manipulation of plastic material. Hence the predominance of sculpture among the arts practised by the Hindus; the practice of bending and even distorting the human figure in sculpture; and what the occidental is apt to consider excessive ornamentation in the decorative arts and architecture.

The manipulation complex may take a purely mental form, as a delight in operating with large numbers. Berkeley-Hill cites the account in the *Ramayana* of Ravana's army, with 150 million elephants, 300 million horses, and so on; and the periods of time, given in precise but enormous figures, involved in the ancient cyclical theory of the universe.

Defaecation first affords pleasure in the sensation of giving out; later, pleasure is derived from keeping in. Both lead to recognisable character traits, which though in a sense opposed may coexist in the same person. Berkeley-Hill says that Hindus in general incline to parsimony, but at the same time giving is highly institutionalised, especially in the ceremonies performed at the samskaras, birth, naming, upanayana, and marriage. The giving out complex is manifested in the throwing of coloured powders and liquids at Holi, and in the painting of sectarian marks on the forehead and other parts of the body.

The love of faeces is repressed at an early stage, but is apt

to be replaced by a liking for objects which symbolise it. One of these is children. Many foreign observers have remarked on the exceptional love of children shown by Hindus. Berkeley-Hill says that the anal derivation of this trait is confirmed by two facts: the puranic story that Ganesha was created from Parvati's faeces; and the rite described by Dubois, whereby women who wanted a child went to Nanjangud, made a small pyramid of faeces, left it in a certain field for a few days, and then turned it over to see whether any insects had been formed in it. If insects were found, the augury for a child was good.

Freud ascribed to the anal character three principal peculiarities: orderliness, miserliness, and obstinacy. Orderliness and miserliness have been mentioned. Berkeley-Hill says that obstinacy is also a general characteristic of Hindus. Finally, he quotes Jones, who ascribes to the anal character: "incapacity for happiness, irritability and bad temper, hypochondria, miserliness, meanness and pettiness, slow-mindedness and proneness to bore, the bent for tyrannising and dictating, and obstinacy," and he says that most of these apply to Hindus.

Berkeley-Hill seems to be mistaken on some points. A large part of his paper deals with indications, such as the flatus complex and the urge to manipulation, of a liking for the bowel products. It is not plausible to ascribe these to the anal character, which is the outcome of an unusually strong repression of the infant's love of the faeces. It is argued below that this aspect of the Hindu character is determined by an uncommonly weak, rather than an uncommonly strong, repression of the infant's love of the faeces. This would explain the contrast, which he himself draws at the end of the paper, between the anal features of the British character, which are due to an anal fixation in the proper sense, and those which he points out in the Hindu character. In attributing to the Hindus other traits of the anal character, he is either in error about the facts, or fails to notice other explanations.

He attributes the sphota doctrine, the ritual significance ascribed to meaningless syllables, and the like, to the flatus complex. He may be right, but these ideas may also derive from the identification of the mouth with the sex-organ, and the consequent identification of sounds with semen. Wood-

roffe's book, *The Garland of Letters*, is an account of the ideas on this matter held by the Shakta school; and the symbolism which it sets forth, in which syllables are called bindu or bija, both meaning point or drop, typically of semen, and are declared to have creative potentialities, suggests that the Shakta development, at any rate, derives rather from the identification of the mouth and the sex organ. "Parabindu divided by Kala becomes threefold—Bindu, Nada, Bija... This Bindu is Shiva and Bija is Shakti, and Nada is merely the relation of the two." (Nada means sound.) "From the union of Shiva and Shakti arises creative ideation. This union and mutual relation is called Nada... The Shakta Tantras frequently employ erotic symbolism to explain the creative process."²

Berkeley-Hill lays great stress on the Hindu pollution complex, which is certainly a reality, but as is argued in the chapter on Caste, it centres upon the saliva and the semen rather than the faeces. Obstinacy is not typical of Hindus; on the contrary, they are inclined to be easily suable. Berkeley-Hill refers to the long-period conservatism of the Hindu civilisation, but that is quite a different matter from obstinacy. In fact, it has been argued in the chapter on Sacrifice that the long-term stability of Hinduism results from its short-term pliability.

Orderliness is not typical of Hindus. Berkeley-Hill seems to confuse it with the liking for logic, which he associates, quite plausibly, with the liking for manipulation and for large numbers. Parsimony is a fairly general characteristic of Hindus; it is at least more pronounced than in Muslims of the same economic status. But parsimony is to be expected on the hypothesis of a narcissistic personality structure. The general inward direction of libido would not favour the free spending of money, and the identification of gold with semen would make spending even more difficult. However, in such a matter as spending habits, other factors are likely to be more important than the basic personality type. The character of the Muslims has been affected by the position of their leaders as rulers and soldiers, who tend to spend freely, whereas the Hindus in most parts of India have been subjects liable to be plundered by arbi-

² Woodroffe, *Garland of Letters*, pp. 106, 108.

trary rulers, and have therefore developed the habit of concealing their wealth.

Of the features which Jones observed in anal types and Berkeley-Hill ascribed to Hindus, some apply and some do not. The idea that Hindus are incapable of happiness, though common among occidentals, is an error. On the other hand hypochondria is typical of Hindus, but it is to be explained as a direct outcome of narcissism. The same is true of irritability and bad temper: they are due to the weak repression of aggressiveness in the narcissistic psyche. Probably the same is true of the bent for tyrannising and dictating: they arise from the narcissist's superiority feeling and the weak repression of aggressiveness. "Meanness and pettiness, slow-mindedness and proneness to bore" are not to be ascribed to Hindus in general any more than to any other population; in any event, it seems likely that they occurred prominently among Jones's subjects only by chance, and are not ascribable to the anal character.

As has been noticed in the chapter on the Mother Fixation, the early upbringing of Hindu children is extremely easy-going. There is very little evidence of coercion or threatening in regard to control of the bowels and bladder. The outcome of such an upbringing will be not an anal fixation but something which can be regarded as the reverse. The repression of the infant's liking for faeces, urine, and flatus will be late and weak; there will be less dislike of them than in the occidental, whose upbringing is more coercive.

Carstairs also strongly emphasises the pollution derived from human faeces, the "arch-contaminant" (*Twice-Born*, p. 107), "the carrier of the profoundest defilement of all" (p. 88). On the other hand he says: "That Hindus are unobsessional and yet preoccupied with the topic of faecal contamination is attributable to the fact that in infancy their training in cleanliness is gentle, leisurely and unemphasised; it is only after the age of two, when verbal instruction comes into play and when the oedipal conflict is at its height, that their attention is focussed upon this function." (p. 164.) That is to say, the dislike of faeces is a system of habits, conditioned reflexes, including verbal ones, which mislead the observer into thinking that it is a deeply emotional matter. Carstairs admits that it may

be accompanied by "relative indifference to unhygienic surroundings" (p. 107); cleaning oneself after defaecation has "ritual as well as merely hygienic significance" (p. 80); "faecal contamination becomes intimately tied up with submission to paternal authority, with religious worship, and with questions of relative caste status" (p. 164).

The dislike of faeces is formal and verbal, but not more strongly felt than elsewhere. Kunhi Kannan, whose book is very much on the defensive, writes on this point: "Cleanliness so rigorously enforced as regards the person is not maintained, however, in half that perfection as regards the home and surroundings. . . Filth is thrown out of the house, but may accumulate not far from the door. There is no provision in the house for attending to calls of nature. The place for evacuation is the compound where there is one, or the field close by. A great deal of filth accumulates this way. . . Manure pits are similarly too near human habitations, and the method of disposal is far from sanitary. Cattle are often stalled inside the house. . . the animals impart unwholesome smells to the dwelling."³

Admittedly such feelings as this are capable of ambivalence. The touch of the lips is normally polluting, but a holy man's lips can have the reverse effect; and the same is the case with faeces. Farquhar reported about the Radha Soami sect of North India that all relics of the Guru's body were charged with his sanctity, so that his followers ate his faeces and drank his urine, and after his death swallowed his ashes.⁴ Some people believe that it is lucky to see a holy man at stool; Upasani Baba refers to this in such a way as to suggest that it is a common belief.⁵ Rishabhadeva was a king who had retired from the world, and in order to show his detachment and humility he allowed people to pass flatus, urine, and faeces on him; he deposited his own urine and faeces where he ate his food, and he smeared his faeces on his body. The sweet smell of his faeces could be detected for ten yojanas round.⁶ (A yojana is two, four, or eight miles.) These, however,

³ Kunhi Kannan, *A Civilisation at Bay*, pp. 60-61.

⁴ Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 170.

⁵ *Talks*, p. 189.

⁶ *Bhagavata P.*, V.30-33.

are somewhat out-of-the-way matters, while the sects mentioned by Bhattacharya, whose members eat faeces or apply it to the skin, the Bauls, Satnamis, Paltu Dasis, and Aghoris,⁷ are definitely antinomian. But cowdung and cow's urine are used every day by millions for domestic purposes, and are even taken internally. It is difficult to believe that people characterised by an anal fixation could do this. Berkeley-Hill does not mention cowdung.

Faeces, urine, and flatus figure in the old stories far more frequently than in comparable literature elsewhere. This fact supports the view that the repression of the infant's love of faeces is weak. The obstacles encountered by the soul on its way to hell include the river Vaitarani, full of blood and pus; showers of blood and filth, lakes of ordure, and so forth. A god or holy man would discomfit his enemies by rendering them unable to pass urine and faeces. Vayu, the God of the Wind, father of Hanuman, chose this way to show his indignation at the conduct of Indra, who had struck the new-born child and broken his jaw.⁸ The Rishi Chyavana did the same thing to King Sarjati's army to show his displeasure with Sukanya, Sarjati's daughter, who had stuck a thorn in his eye.⁹ Bhrgu cursed the Asura Dansha, who had raped his wife, to live in hell on urine and mucus.¹⁰ Krishna slew Aristha, a Danava in the form of a bull covered with urine and faeces; Keshi, a Danava in the form of a horse, which during the fight discharged urine and faeces; and Kamsa's elephant Kuvalayapida, which when struck by Krishna passed urine and faeces with a great sound.¹¹ Ashwatthaman entered the Pandava camp at night and slew every warrior there; the narrator embellishes his account of the scene of horror with the detail that the horses and elephants passed faeces and urine.¹²

In the *Mahanirvana Tantra* it is declared that a man who does not perform certain rites will become a worm of excrement; that the spirits will regard water offered by a certain type of

⁷ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes*, pp. 361, 391, 482, 491.

⁸ *Ramayana*, VII.35.

⁹ *MBh.*, Vana P., CXXII.

¹⁰ *MBh.*, Shanti P., III.21.

¹¹ *Harivamsha*, LXXVI, LXXIX, LXXXIV.

¹² *MBh.*, Sauptika P., VIII.87.

sinner as excrement and pus; and that the offering to his ancestors of a certain type of sinner is like excrement.¹³ The Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha were born from the wax of Vishnu's ear.¹⁴ The Kota and Ambalakkaran tribes claim that their ancestors sprang from Shiva's perspiration.¹⁵ Berkeley-Hill cited the birth of Ganesha from Parvati's faeces. An alternative version says that he was born from the dirt scraped from her skin when she bathed.

The following story is told about Ganesha. A poor couple made a humble but sincere offering on Ganesha Chaturthi. That night, they heard a sound from their puja-room, and thinking it was a thief, asked what he wanted. A voice replied, "I want to ease myself." They thought it must be a madman, and told him to do it in a corner. Then the voice said, "I want to make water," and they told him to do it in another corner. It then said, "I want to weep," and they replied as before. Finally, the visitor said he wanted to laugh. In the morning they found the room heaped with gold and jewels. A rich neighbour heard of this visitation, and he and his wife decided to try their luck next Ganesha Chaturthi. They heard the same words from their puja-room and gave the same answers, but in the morning, instead of gold and jewels, they found the room heaped with faeces and urine.¹⁶

In the Tamil folk-story, "The Brahman Girl Who Married a Tiger," the girl's three brothers visited her, and on the tiger's approach hid in the loft. When the tiger entered they were terrified, and made so much water that the room was flooded. The tiger inferred from the volume of urine that giants had invaded his dwelling, and ran away.¹⁷ In another story in the same collection, "The Arch-Impostor," the impostor made a courtesan pay him all her money for his horse by telling her that a yogi had given it the power of producing gold, and as proof showing her coins he had hidden in its dung.¹⁸ In the story of Chandralekha, some thieves obtained a magic weapon

¹³ *Mahanirvana T.*, IV.90, 98, 102.

¹⁴ *Markandeya P.*, LXXXI.

¹⁵ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV.13, I.28.

¹⁶ Mukerji, *Hindu Fasts and Feasts*, p. 18.

¹⁷ Natesa Sastri, *Indian Folk Tales*, p. 90.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

by receiving a thunderbolt in a heap of cowdung.¹⁹ In the Kashmir folk-story "The Three Princes," the youngest prince carried an immense store of rubies safely hidden in cowdung cakes.²⁰ In the Bengal folk-story "Phakir Chand," the light, as from a thousand diamonds, which shone from the crest-jewel of a snake could be hidden only by covering it with horse-dung.²¹ It is the general belief that the snake's crest-jewel can be hidden or secured only by throwing cowdung or horse-dung over it.²² In the Bengal folk-story "Prince Sobur," the faeces of a certain bird was the only medicine which could save the life of the prince when his skin had been lacerated by powdered glass.²³ In "The Story of a Hiranman" in the same collection, the faeces of the young bird of the same species restored the sight of a king whose eyes had been put out.²⁴ A cow which never calved but produced milk at all times of the day produced dung which turned into gold.²⁵ A princess smeared her body with flour and water, let it dry and then rubbed it off; as the balls of flour fell they turned into gold.²⁶

In several of the stories cited above, the association between faeces and gold or gems is made fairly clear. The *Mahabharata* tells of a prince named Suvarnashthivin, whose faeces were gold.²⁷ Yudhishtira says, "I have heard that cowdung is imbued with prosperity," and Bhishma replies by telling him about Shri, the Goddess of Wealth, who wished to live with the cattle, but they did not want her. "I wish to live in any part of your bodies," she said, "however repulsive it may be. Indeed I wish to live even in your rectum." The cattle replied, "O you of great fame, it is certainly desirable that we should honour you. Live in our urine and faeces. Both of these are sacred, O Goddess." Shri replied, "By good fortune, you have shown me much favour. Let it be even as you say."²⁸ The

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

²⁰ *Best Short Stories*, I.62.

²¹ Day, *Folk Tales of Bengal*, p. 19.

²² Crooke, *Popular Religion*, p. 275.

²³ Day, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

²⁷ *MBh.*, Shanti P., XXXI.1-2.

²⁸ *MBh.*, Anushasana P., LXXXII.21-25.

Yogatattvopaniṣad says that a yogi of a certain stage of advancement can transmute iron into gold by smearing his excrement over it.²⁹

Gold and jewels have a more important place in common speech, and in literary and religious imagery, than they do in other cultures. Gold, jewel, pearl, diamond, are common terms of endearment addressed to infants, and are frequently used as regular names. Thurston says that in the Madras Presidency there was a male goldsmith to every 408 of the population, as contrasted with the ratio of 1:1,200 in England.³⁰ Jewels figure a great deal in folk-stories; a few illustrations have been given above. Of special interest are those which show the association between the mouth and the anus. Princesses from whose mouths fall gems occur in two of the Vikramaditya stories,³¹ and the same theme is the subject of the story "Devki Rani."³² In one of L. B. Day's Bengal folk-stories a man acquires this gift, together with that of weeping pearls, by eating a certain fish.³³ The association is still clearer in the story "Lalpari and Kevra-pari," where the object produced from the mouth is a flower with a very powerful scent.³⁴

The symbolic relation is sometimes reversed: faeces may symbolise gold or other objects of value. This is possibly part of the significance of the practice followed by some of the criminal tribes of depositing faeces at the scene of a crime. Members of the Koravar and of the Joghi criminal tribes habitually left faeces at the scene of a burglary. The Koravar did so, it is said, to frustrate pursuit. They sprinkled urine on the wall of a house to help them dig a hole in it. Members of the Donga Woddar tribe would try to produce faeces at the entrance to the village which they planned to rob; if they did so, they felt confident of success.³⁵ I have been told independently of the discovery of faeces in or just outside burgled houses. The criminal tribes claimed that crime was their religion. They observed rules: they would not rob people with whom they

²⁹ *Thirty Minor Upanishads*, p. 197.

³⁰ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI. 393.

³¹ *Stories of Vikramaditya*, pp. 136, 158.

³² *Best Short Stories*, I. 176.

³³ Day, *Folk-tales of Bengal*, pp. 97, 103.

³⁴ *Best Short Stories*, p. 146.

³⁵ Ghani, *Notes*, pp. 10, 15, 27, 126.

had eaten salt, or curds; they would rob only by day, or only by night; and they performed acts of worship before committing a crime. It is a reasonable guess that such conscientious thieves would feel obliged to give the robbed household a symbolic *quid pro quo*, and that this might take the form of faeces, which stands for gold or valuables.

Leaving faeces behind, however, recalls the common folklore theme of the "obstacle flight." The hero, fleeing from an enemy, throws behind him a number of small objects, which then turn into rivers, mountains, forests, etc., and obstruct the pursuer. The Koravar said that they left faeces at the burgled house in order to obstruct pursuit. In one of the Vikramaditya stories, three princes, held by the magical and sexual power of three Apsarases, escape taking with them seven magic pebbles. When pursued by the Apsarases they throw five of the pebbles behind them, and these turn into a thick forest, a sea, wild animals, poisonous reptiles, and a blinding flash of lightning. The princes are warned of the approach of the Apsarases by their sweet but powerful smell.³⁶ Such a smell does not appear as a characteristic of Apsarases elsewhere, and may have been transferred to them from the faeces which the pebbles probably represent. In the Greek story, Milanion wins his race with Atalanta by throwing before her three golden apples given to him by Aphrodite. Here the object combines the two properties: it is valuable and also obstructs the pursuer.

It may be said with some confidence, therefore, that the faeces left behind by criminal tribesmen at the scene of a crime was supposed magically to obstruct pursuit, and that faeces is probably the original magical object dropped behind him by the hero in the "obstacle flight." Several other stories referred to above illustrate the magical quality of faeces symbols. That the faeces thus left behind is regarded, in view of its equivalence with gold, as a recompense for the goods stolen, is possible, but lacks corroboration.

Berkeley-Hill might have cited the story of Mandavya to illustrate the association of holding back the faeces with asceticism and yoga. It may well be that there is such an asso-

³⁶ *Stories of Vikramaditya*, pp. 240-41.

ciation, though as is argued above, the principal inspiration of yoga seems to be quite different.

Mandavya was in his ashram engaged in tapas. Some thieves hid themselves in the ashram, the Rishi taking no notice. The soldiers came and seized the thieves and the stolen property. Mandavya still maintained silence, so they took him with the thieves before the king, and accused him of complicity. All were impaled. The thieves died, but the Rishi, although without food, survived for many years. The king heard of this marvel, went to him and begged his pardon, and was forgiven. The king then took down the stake and tried to withdraw it from Mandavya's body, but his efforts were in vain. Mandavya continued his tapas and became more and more holy, and from that time was called Animandavya (ani=spike). Eventually he went to heaven, where he asked Dharma why he had been so maltreated. Dharma replied that when he was a child he had pierced an insect with a blade of grass. Animandavya then laid down the rule that an act committed by a child under fourteen would henceforth not be counted a sin.³⁷

Jones says that many infants imagine that the male part in reproduction is performed by passing flatus, and that this belief is shown in myths about impregnation by the wind. I have not noticed any direct reference to this idea in the Hindu stories, but it may find expression in the parallel idea about smelling. Milk becomes seed when placed in the wooden spoon which has been smelt by the Adhvaryu.³⁸ Saranyu in the form of a mare smells the seed of Vivasvat and it becomes the Ashvins.³⁹ The heavenly cow Surabhi smells Dirghatamas, and this restores his sight and relieves him of old age and death;⁴⁰ this, however, is not impregnation. The hundred wives of Somoka conceive by smelling the smoke from the fire in which his first son is sacrificed.⁴¹ In a story in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, as often as the Gods kill a certain Asura, the horse Uchchairavas restores him to life by smelling him.⁴²

³⁷ *MBh.*, Adi P. CVII-CVIII.

³⁸ *Aitareya Br.*, I.1.22.

³⁹ *Bṛihad-Devata*, VII.4-6.

⁴⁰ *Matsya P.*, XLVIII.81-82

⁴¹ *MBh.*, Vana P., CXXVIII.6.

⁴² *Katha Sarit Sagara*, ch. 46.



The snake cult

Snakes in mythology are usually regarded as phallic objects. This is no doubt often valid, but they may also represent faeces. The association seems to underly the story of King Janamejaya's snake sacrifice.

Takshaka, king of the snakes, stole a pair of earrings from the young ascetic Uttanka. The snake disappeared into a hole in the ground, and Uttanka pursued him into the land of the Nagas. Shortly before this, a very tall man riding a very big bull had invited Uttanka to eat the bull's faeces and drink its urine, and he had done so. It later appeared that these were ambrosia from heaven, intended to save his life in Nagaland.

Baffled in his attempts to recover the earrings, Uttanka met a man with a horse, which it is explained later was Agni. The man invited him to blow into it, presumably into its anus; he did so, and flames and smoke issued from all its bodily apertures. Seeing that Nagaland was thus threatened with destruction, Takshaka appeared and gave back the earrings. But Uttanka still bore a grudge, and incited Janamejaya to avenge his father's death, which Takshaka had caused.

The snake race were the sons of Kadru, daughter of Prajapati or Daksha. Kadru had a wager with her sister Vinata about the colour of Uchchaisravas, the king of the horses. In order to win her bet, Kadru desired her thousand sons to assume the form of black hairs and station themselves in Uchchaisravas's tail. They refused, and she cursed them to be consumed in Janamejaya's sacrifice. They then consented. Kadru and Vinata went to see Uchchaisravas, and on the way passed over the sea, which was greatly agitated by the wind, roaring terribly, and swarming with horrible monsters, the mine of all gems, the habitation of Nagas, the abode of subterranean fire, the great receptacle of the ambrosia of the Gods.

The snakes discussed how to prevent Janamejaya's sacrifice. One suggestion was that they should defile the pure food of the sacrifice with their urine and faeces. The Rishi Kashyapa had foreknowledge of Takshaka's crime, and went to save

King Parikshit, Janamejaya's father. But on the way Takshaka met him and bribed him with all the wealth he asked, and Kashyapa went back.

Parikshit was also forewarned and took precautions. But Takshaka made his way into the king's presence as "an ugly insect of black and copper colour." With a tremendous roar he bit the king, and the palace blazed up with his poison.

Janamejaya spent much wealth on the sacrifice. As the spells were pronounced, snakes from distant places flew through the air, hovered above the sacrificial fire, and then dropped into it, "breathing hard, swelling to enormous sizes, entwining one another with their heads and tails." "The fat and marrow of the snakes flowed like rivers, and the air was filled with an insufferable stench."⁴³

The story contains a number of direct references to anal objects, and several details which symbolise such objects. The wealth and jewels, the roars, the black hairs in the tail of the horse, the black and copper insect into which Takshaka transformed himself, all bear witness to the anal inspiration of the story. Though sadism begins in the oral phase, it is more especially associated with the anal phase. The story bears out this association. A typical expression of anal sadism is burning faeces, a procedure which is employed in black magic. The story illustrates this point also. The story of the burning of the Khandava forest also shows the snake as a faeces symbol.⁴⁴

The association of both snakes and jewels with faeces doubtless explains the association between snakes and jewels which is so common in Indian and other folklore.

In many of the fighting scenes in the old books the stress on noise suggests anal sadism. "When he stands, filled with anger, on the field of battle, the very scent of his body deprives all foes of consciousness, and they who are not killed tremble and fall down. His roars are terrible, like the muttering of clouds. Hearing these roars, the very hearts of the celestials break in twain."⁴⁵ "When Bhava, riding upon that car, pro-

⁴³ *MBh.*, Adi P., III-LIII.

⁴⁴ *MBh.*, Adi P., CCXXIX-CCXXX.

⁴⁵ *MBh.*, Anushasana P., CLX. 8-9.

ceeded towards the triple city, his bull uttered a very excellent and loud roar, filling the directions with the noise. Having heard that dreadful roar of his bull, the descendants of Taraka, who were all enemies of the celestials, attained to their destination."⁴⁶

Jainism

The Jain sub-culture, which shares all these anal traits, shows some of them far more markedly than the Hindu culture in general. I have no explanation of this fact, beyond the general considerations that the Jains show a number of the Hindu characteristics in an extreme form, and that they inherit a very archaic but also materialistic philosophy, which may influence their imagery and language in this direction. Whatever the explanation, there can be no doubt of the fact, and it is worth while to set forth some of the evidence.

Jains show the urge to manipulation in the form of a habit of using large numbers to a greater extent than the Hindus. Their philosophical and psychological system and disciplinary code are set forth in numbered steps. They publish elaborate statements in tabular form of the number, duration, and distribution in time of the fasts performed by their ancient and modern leaders. Their legendary history is a maze of numbers; the length of the world cycle and of the eras into which it is divided, the size of the body and length of life of the people who lived in those eras, the length of life, the period before initiation, the period of penance, the period in heaven or hell, of the Tirthankaras, are all precisely detailed. The numbers involved are far larger than those in the Hindu myths. Thus the unit used in stating the length of life of the early Tirthankaras is the *purva*, which is $7056 \cdot 10^{10}$ years. These Tirthankaras lived for millions of *purvas*. A still larger unit is the *palyopama*, which is defined as follows: imagine a pit in the shape of a cube of edge one *yojana*; it is filled with the ends of the hairs of new-born babies, ground so fine that it does not hurt the eye; this hair-dust is removed from the pit at the rate of one grain per hundred years; the time taken to empty the pit is a *palyopama*. It will be

⁴⁶ *MBh.*, Karna P., XXXIV. 95-96.

noticed that not only the size of the number but the way it is defined has an anal character. Taking a yojana as two miles, and allowing only 100 grains per cubic millimetre, the palyopama is over 10^{23} years. A still larger unit is the sagaropama, which is 10^{15} palyopamas. The length of the world cycle is 2.10^{15} sagaropamas.

The Jains use the faeces symbols gold and jewels far more than the Hindus. This is not a new characteristic, which might be attributed to their present preoccupation with money. It is equally conspicuous in Hemachandra's exposition of Jain mythology and doctrine, which was composed in the twelfth century A.D., when the Jains had not begun to specialise in commerce.

On the night of the conception of the Tirthankara, fourteen dreams "enter the mouth" of his mother and foretell his status. The first dream is of an elephant whiter than a heap of pearls. The eighth is of a golden flagstaff. The ninth is of a golden pitcher, filled in one version with water, in another with jewels. The twelfth is of a jewel-bedecked palace or car. The thirteenth is of a vase as high as Mount Meru, filled with jewels. The Digambara sect add another dream of a throne of diamonds and rubies. On the night before he attained omniscience, Mahavira had ten dreams. Of these the fourth was a vision of two necklaces studded with precious stones, which stand for the courses of duties of laymen and sadhus. In the ninth dream he saw himself encircling a mountain with his own bowels, like the precious stones called vaiduryas.

Among the seventy-two arts which the first Tirthankara taught men are the art of reading the nature of elephants, of knowing which will bear elephant pearls, and which will make their owner rich and which poor; the art of testing jewels and knowing their value, how long to wear them, on which limb to wear which jewel, which jewel will remove which calamity, which jewel removes evil spirits, the effects of jewels on the mind, the body and the outer world, where jewels can be found, the art of purifying them, and of making medicines from them; and the art of alchemy, of extracting gold and of transmuting other substances into gold. The

sixty-four arts he taught women include the art of cleaning jewels.

The Tirthankara is distinguished by thirty-four marks, of which the ninth is that his throne is studded with white gems. The Chakravartin is distinguished by twenty-three marks, which are enumerated as fourteen ratnas and nine nidhanas. Ratna means jewel and nidhana means riches, but in fact only two of the fourteen ratnas are jewels: one of these is a specific against disease, and the other gives light when rubbed. The nine nidhanas include the knowledge of making ornaments and harness for men, women, horses, and elephants; all information about precious stones; and all information about iron, copper, silver, and gold.

The embryo of Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara, was removed from the womb of Devananda and placed in that of Trishala. This was done because in a previous life Devananda had stolen Trishala's jewels. After the transfer took place, this family's "gold, silver, riches, corn, jewels, pearls, shells, precious stones, and corals increased"; hence, he was named Vardhamana. During the whole of his last year of worldly life, Mahavira gave away 10,800,000 gold coins every day. This store of money is provided to the future Tirthankara by Indra, in order that his gifts may be worthy of him. When Mahavira took initiation, he was carried on a palanquin studded with jewels, bathed in the water of the milk ocean, anointed with highly perfumed unguents made from sandal oil and the like, and decorated with ornaments. When he preached his last sermon to an assembly of kings, he sat on a diamond throne.

In the first stage of the world cycle, men do not work, and all they need is provided by ten kinds of wishing trees. Of these, the eighth kind provide them jewels and ornaments. In the fifth age, the present, the earth has become less productive, "and many of its mines of gems have become extinct. Elephant-pearls, sun-stones, and philosopher's stones are no more to be seen."

Many more such instances could be cited. It is impossible to read the Jain legends without being struck by this peculiarity.

The Jain texts also refer to anal ideas in more direct ways. Thus men are classified into six types according to wickedness or virtue. The worst of these is said to be possessed by the black emotion, which is a material substance, having a bitter taste and the smell of a dead cow. The two less wicked emotions have the same smell but different tastes and colours. There is much about smells, good and bad, in the legends. Thus there is a philosophical story to show that the same matter may have good and bad smells at different times. As he was crossing a stream, a king complained of the smell of a dead dog. His minister took some water from the stream at that spot, added spices, etc., and gave it to the king, who was pleased to drink it. Among the nine minor faults is "feeling dismay when assailed by an evil smell." A completely emancipated soul who is yet in the body possesses among other qualities that of being unaffected by smell and taste. Having a dark skin or unpleasant body odour are due to sin in previous lives. On the other hand, among the thirty-four distinguishing marks of a Tirthankara are that his flesh and blood are sweet as cow's milk; his breath is as fragrant as a lotus; when he eats and when he answers the calls of nature he becomes invisible; objects pleasant to the sight, smell, taste and touch appear around him; unpleasant objects disappear. Stevenson remarks on the high value Jains attach to a light complexion and a smooth skin.⁴⁷

The word excrement is freely used in exposition and legend. In a famous Jain story, a thief of noble birth broke into a rich man's house and heard the owner telling his wives that he was about to renounce the world. "The wealth we have come to steal is being discarded like excrement by this man," exclaimed the thief. A queen was rebuking her rebellious son, who had cast the king into prison and usurped the throne. She declared that when he was in her womb she thought him worse than excrement, and as soon as he was born she threw him on a dunghill, but his father saved him. Finally, the son repented, but the father, unable to bear his ingratitude, killed himself by swallowing a diamond.

⁴⁷ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 136.

The Jains have an elaborate and very materialistic theory of the universe. The soul has some of the properties of matter, and some apparently lifeless things really have life. But there is lifeless matter, and it is divided into four classes: space, time, dharmastikaya, and adharmastikaya. Dharmastikaya helps the soul and its associated matter to progress, "just as water helps a fish to move"; whereas adharmastikaya prevents a soul from progressing "just as the shade of a tree attracts a man" and holds him there. These two categories may derive from the urges to "give out" and to "hold back." Anal imagery may be detected in the atomic doctrine: the atoms have five shapes, circular, spherical, triangular, square, and oblong "like a log lying on the ground."

Karma, the effect of action upon the soul, is a type of matter, which "flows into the soul." The sin of greed, even the slightest degree of it, stains the soul "like turmeric," a spice of a dull yellow colour. If it is allowed to remain on the soul for a fortnight, it produces a stain like the soot on earthen cooking pots. If it is allowed to remain for four months, the stain is like the oil of cartwheels. If it is allowed to remain longer, it is like a red dye which cannot be washed out. Again, the soul is like a piece of cloth, and the passions are like oil; if oil falls on the cloth, the dust of karma will cling to it.

Karma is habitually spoken of as "filth." "Tirthankaras are born to wash away filth and corruption." They are "destroyers of sin and redeemers of the fallen, cleaners of the besmeared and wipers away of the miseries of the suffering." But misery "washes off the filth of karmas"; or, alternatively, asceticism burns it away.

It is accepted psycho-analytic doctrine that the idea of sin originates in pollution with faeces, though it adds other components later in life. The Jain ideas and language provide fairly convincing confirmation of this view. In particular, there is not much doubt that sin is originally identical with faeces.

Chapter 10

GODDESS WORSHIP

THE WORSHIP OF goddesses, both as a supplement to the principal worship of a god and as the sole or principal form of worship, is very widespread in Hinduism. As in Christianity and Buddhism, goddesses which are worshipped as supplementary to a god are generally benevolent. The male worshipper tends to project his aggressiveness on to a male god. But those goddesses which are the principal object of worship of their cult are normally also terrifying. Saraswati is an exception, but the worship of this goddess seems to have become a formality almost without emotional substance. Apart from the village goddesses, which are dealt with separately, all the independent goddesses have become fused into one, the wife of Shiva, who is sometimes worshipped together with him but is often worshipped separately.

Just before the Kurukshetra battle, at Krishna's direction, Arjuna prayed to Durga for victory. He referred to some of her auspicious attributes, but dwelt equally on the others: wife of the universal Destroyer, fearful One, wielder of the terrible spear and sword and shield, lover of buffalo's blood, devourer of Asuras, lover of battle, destroyer of Kaitabha, sleep from which there is no waking, etc.¹

On an unhappy but not warlike occasion Yudhishtira prayed to her. He emphasised her beneficence but also addressed her as the bearer of a noose, a bow, a discus, and other weapons, as clothed in snakes, as the slayer of Mahishasura, as the giver of victory in battle, as delighting in animal sacrifice.²

In the *Harivamsha*, she was born as Devaki's seventh child. She was immediately killed by Kamsa, and so went back

¹ MBh., Bhishma P. XXIII.

² MBh., Virata P. VI.

to heaven. For this service, Vishnu sang her praises. He mentioned her auspicious qualities but interspersed references to her snake-like arms, her attendant goblins, her killing of Shumbha and Nishumbha, her weapons, her quarrelsome nature, her victory over the Danavas, her terrifying eyes, and so forth. Like Arjuna, Vishnu also addressed her as sleep.³

The *Lalita Sahasranama*, which gives a thousand attributes or descriptions of the Goddess, dwells mainly on her youthful charms and her beneficence, but also says that her flashing goad is formed of her anger, she delights in the valour of her Shaktis, who are eager to destroy the army of Bhanda, she is pleased when Vishanga is slain by Shyamala, with the fire of her divine weapon Pashupata she burns to death the army of the demon and destroys Bhanda and his city Shun-yaka, she is the destroyer of Chanda and Munda, she is the great destroyer and devourer.

The most celebrated of these descriptions is the *Chandi-Mahatmya*. Here she is depicted as fighting a series of battles on behalf of the Gods against the Asuras. Blood flows in torrents, and she uses many weapons, including her teeth. She is alternately hideous and beautiful, and alternately terrifying and loving.

The images by which she is represented show the same combination or alternation. She is commonly shown with a hideous face, staring eyes, protruding teeth, and bloodstains, skulls, corpses, snakes, etc. She is worshipped with animal sacrifices, especially of goats, sometimes of buffaloes. Nevertheless, even in this form she is loved.⁴

The poems of Ramaprasad (1718-75), which are accorded a high place in Bengali literature, express in a striking way this combination of love and fear.

O Mother, how Thou didst dance in battle!
Incomparable is Thy garment,
Loose is Thy hair,
Naked art Thou on Hara's breast...
Her tresses are loosely flowing,
Her body is splashed with blood...

³ *Harivamsha*, LVII-LVIII.

⁴ *Markandeya P.*, LXXXI-LCIII.

Her tresses are loose and she is stirred by wine,
 She moves fast in battle,
 Seizes those who surrounded me...
 She is intoxicated with wine,
 Her tongue is lolling,
 Her hair is loose,
 The sight of Her makes men and Devas fear her,
 Roaring She crushes Danavas...

The Goddess Kamakhya, who has been worshipped from early times in Assam, is celebrated in legends which combine the erotic and the fearful. "The name of the hillock where the shrine stands is Nilachala. According to the *Kalika Purana* the genital organ of Sati fell here when her dead body was carried hither and thither in frantic sorrow by her husband Shiva. The mountain represented the body of Shiva himself, and when Sati's genital organ fell on it the mountain turned blue. The goddess herself is called Kamakhya because she came here secretly to satisfy her amour with him. Thus the derivations of the *Kalika Purana* make the mountain both a graveyard and a secret love-tryst of the Goddess."⁵

"It had been given out that at the time of the evening prayer the goddess danced within closed doors at the temple. The king desired to see the dancing goddess and asked the chief priest... The king was advised to peep through a hole in the wall. As he did so his eyes caught the eyes of the goddess. The goddess grew irate and tore off the head of the priest." "Whatever excites passion or fear should be referred to the Bhairavi. On seeing a drinking vessel or a woman dressed in red, or a human skull, one should (think) of the goddess." "The list of sacrificial animals enumerated in the *Kalika Purana* is very wide... Human sacrifice is of more avail than anything else. Blood drawn from one's own body may also be offered... The Yogini Tantra enlarges the list... Worshipping the goddess in the cremation ground, buffaloes only should be sacrificed."⁶ "The Shastras of the Shakti worshippers recommend homicide before their goddesses as the best and most acceptable offering."⁷

⁵ Kakati, *Mother Goddess Kamakhya*, p. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 55, 69-70.

⁷ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 411.

Professor G. D. Boaz quotes Money-Kyrle as giving a Freudian account of Kali: "‘Of this, at least, we can be fairly confident, that Kali was a phallic goddess and that she castrated and destroyed her consort.’...He says that the skulls are the phalli of her sons (yet another phallic symbol!)...Freudian theories...have no universal application, and...the Freudian analysis of mother-child attachment is true of only certain particular forms of society presupposing a particular ethos. The whole interpretation seems foreign and even fantastic, for the simple reason that there is no evidence for such a nuclear Oedipus complex in the unconscious of the Indian mind." After reviewing a number of other theories Boaz concludes: "To save the child from danger the mother will take any risk and put on the role of the fiercest giant...Although Kali or Durga is portrayed as a battle-queen, her function in that aspect is always protecting the gods and men from their enemies...Her very anger is the blessing of mankind, since it destroys the enemy.

‘Thy bell that fills the world with its ringing,
And destroys the glories of the Daityas,
May thy bell guard us, O Goddess,
Even us like children from sins!...
May thy scimitar be for our welfare!’

(*Markandeya Purana*, 91, 25 ff) ...Many of the South Indian goddesses, especially of the fiercer ones, are goddesses of some disease like cholera or small-pox. By their functions of protecting men from these diseases, they become goddesses of diseases and naturally are not gentle and lovable in that aspect... Thus, the simplest explanation seems to be found in the function of the mother as the protector of her offspring and of the species."⁸

Money-Kyrle is probably right about Kali. She castrates her consort and dances on his corpse, her expression signifying hate. The son's Oedipus hatred of the father finds expression by identifying with her. Money-Kyrle may also be right in regarding the skulls in her necklace as phallic objects. The

⁸ G. D. Boaz, "The Terrible Mother," *J. Madras University* (July, 1944), pp. 64, 69.

identification of the head and the sex-organ, and of decapitation and castration, are familiar in Indian tradition. The belief that the head contains a store of semen seems to be widespread. A story told by some Thugs to Sleeman shows that they imagined their patron-goddess Bhavani (Kali) extracting semen from the bodies they had killed; and the ritual of head-hunting had the similar purpose of obtaining "life-substance" from the victim's skull. The story of Shiva cutting off Brahma's head shows that the head and the sex-organ are identified.

At the marriage of Shiva and Parvati, Brahma became enamoured of the bride. Shiva cut off Brahma's head, which however stuck to his hand. In order to remove it Shiva had to go on a pilgrimage and to drink a liquid concocted in a burning-ground by corpse-eaters, i.e. by purveyors of semen.⁹ This story must derive from the legend of the castration of Prajapati by his son Rudra (*see* chapter on Mythology). Its survival is evidence that the positive Oedipus complex has not wholly disappeared, for although in this particular legend Brahma and Shiva are brothers, in mythology generally Brahma is the father. Cutting off his head is castration, the severed part sticking to the hand is a symbol of guilt, and the guilt is removed when by the administration of semen the organ is rendered capable of functioning again.

But it is true that Oedipus hatred is not very conspicuous in the Hindu psyche, and it is also true that a goddess, however ferocious, is not the most natural embodiment of a man's Oedipus hatred. Kali combines this character with that of the mother who by denying the breast arouses destructive fantasies in the infant, and that of the mother to whose womb the son wishes to return after castrating himself; and her aggressiveness is due to these two characters. [Mr. Koestler says that Hindus fear goddesses because they fear being deprived of semen in intercourse.¹⁰ This fear is widespread and expresses itself in folk-stories as a fear of witches and of marriage (*see* chapter on Caste). But the evidence known to me does not suggest that it contributes to the fear of goddesses.]

⁹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI.357; Whitehead, *Village Gods*, pp. 132-33.

¹⁰ A. Koestler in *Encounter* (London, October, 1960), p. 14.

Professor Boaz ignores these explanations. He is mistaken, too, in saying that the function of the village goddesses of disease is to protect men against disease. Their function is to inflict disease upon men, and men persuade them to desist or refrain from doing so by offering them sacrifices. The myths about the fierce goddess show her destroying other people, and include prayers that she should give protection, and protestations of gratitude upon her doing so. But this is clearly rationalisation. The devotee would not depict her as terrible unless he either shared her aggressive feeling or feared it. Her terrible character cannot have arisen merely as displayed against somebody else.

Oral sadism

There is some evidence of the destructive fantasies of which Klein and Roheim have written. Oral sadism is supposed to arise from the infant's frustration and biting of the breast. In Whitehead's version of the story last quoted, Shiva bites off Brahma's head. Oral sadism is believed to explain the paradoxical combination of love and hate for the same object. The Thugs showed this combination: for days and even weeks together they simulated friendship for their prospective victims. They told a story about the goddess eating the corpses they left, and they said that their sacred pickaxe was her tooth.

The Paraiyan of Madras perform a ritual intended to bring rain when drought prevails. They make a clay image of the goddess Kodumpavi and every day for seven to ten days they drag it through the streets in a cart. Then they kill it. "It is disfigured, especially in those parts which are usually concealed," and then buried. This is believed to put the goddess to shame and to compel her to send her lover Sukra to the drought-affected area.¹¹

The Paraiyan and Panan perform a magical ritual intended to enable a man to transform himself into an animal and commit murder with impunity. He dresses in an unwashed cloth, finds a certain plant, circumambulates it three times a day for 90 days (i.e. 270 times, the number of days in a pregnancy), buries the root of the plant in ashes in a cremation ground,

¹¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI.85.

and stands in water up to his mouth.¹² In this first part of the ritual, all the items, including perhaps the unwashed cloth, symbolise birth or the return to the womb. He then takes the plant to the house of a woman pregnant for the first time. Its magic power compels her to come out. She is taken to some distance and made to strip and lie down; a vessel is placed near the vagina, and the foetus comes out into it. Sometimes the vagina is filled with rubbish, when the woman dies at once. The foetus is smoked and steamed, when a liquid exudes from it, which when mixed with powdered bone from a skull has the desired magic potency.¹³

The Palli or Vanniyan have a legend that in the days when Kanchi was the capital of the Cholas, they were dragging their cars through the streets in the normal way when a rival caste put a spell on them and made them immovable. The king said that they must remove the cars or suffer exile. Their foremost magician learnt from the goddess Kamakshiamman that they must sacrifice to her a woman pregnant with her first child. The magician sacrificed his own wife, who was in that condition, and the cars moved.¹⁴

One of the stories in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* refers to the magical efficacy of cutting out the embryo: one who ate it would become a Vidyadhara, seized by the neck it would become a magic sword (ch. 26). In another, a man cooks and eats his own child in order to acquire magic power (ch. 108). Women acquire the power to fly by eating human flesh (ch. 20). In several stories, witches and Rakshasis are depicted as eaters of human flesh (chs. 21, 25, 28, 29, 102).

According to psycho-analytic findings, the infant deprived of the breast has fantasies of tearing out the inside of his mother's body. He then fears that the same thing will be done to him, and as a defence against this fear he fantasises that his inside is full of hard, inedible substances like stones. This idea again is projected on to others, whom he accuses of shooting hard objects, which cause disease, into people's bodies. According to Roheim, the procedure of Australian medicine-men can be

¹² *Ibid.*, VI. 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI. 125-26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VI. 27.

explained in terms of these fantasies; in particular, they pretend to find quartz crystals inside their patients' bodies.

Thurston records of an Indian tribe, the Koyi of Andhra, that they have a magical healing technique closely similar to the Australian. When diagnosing a disease the diviner will make a dart at the patient and bite him severely in two or three places in the back. Then he will produce a few grains which he says he has found in the patient's back, and these were the cause of the disease. In one instance, the patient had a good job, and the diviner claimed to have found silver coins in his back, and these were a sign that the disease was due to his money. This same tribe believe in witches who kill a man by tearing out his tongue or by sucking blood from his toe, and can transform themselves into tigers and fly through the air.¹⁵ These ideas recall the infant's fantasy of the mother tearing out his inside.

It is possible that the taboos on menstrual blood and on child-birth are associated, among others, with these fantasies of tearing out the inside of the mother's body. It is interesting, then, that a caste who have an exceptionally severe childbirth taboo also have a particularly bloodthirsty legend about killing their women. Among the Golla, pastoralists of Andhra, the woman in labour is left alone in a hut a hundred yards away from the village, and she is unclean for ninety days. The legend is that they kidnapped the daughter of a neighbouring king, who then besieged them in their fort. The siege lasted for months. At last one of their women told the enemy how to cut off their water supply. They killed all their women, and then sallied forth against the enemy and were killed to the last man.¹⁶

Self-destruction

Meditation on the goddess seems to arouse an impulse to self-mutilation. Nivedita was with Vivekananda on a visit to Kashmir, when he experienced a spiritual crisis, which she describes. "The Swami's attention appeared to shift, during the month of August, from Shiva to the Mother. He was

¹⁵ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV.68-69.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II.286-88.

always singing the songs of Ramprasad, as if he would saturate his own mind with the conception of himself as a child...He had constantly striven to make clear to us the ideal of rising beyond the pairs of opposites...but now he seemed to fasten his whole attention on the dark, the painful and the inscrutable...‘the worship of the terrible’ now became his whole cry. Illness or pain would always draw forth the reminder that ‘She is the organ. She is the pain. And she is the giver of pain. Kali! Kali! Kali!’

“...We came back to our houseboat...and found waiting for us, where he had called and left them, his manuscript lines on ‘Kali the Mother.’ Writing in a fever of inspiration, he had fallen on the floor when he had finished...exhausted with his own intensity...

...Scattering plagues and sorrows
Dancing mad with joy,
Come, Mother, come!
For Terror is Thy name.
Death is in Thy breath...
Who dares misery love,
Dance in destruction’s dance,
And hug the form of death—
To him the Mother comes...

“September the 30th he had gone, leaving word that he was not to be followed, to Kshir Bhawani, the coloured springs. He was away from that day till October the 6th.

“In the afternoon of that day we saw him coming back to us, up the river. He entered our houseboat—a transfigured presence, and silently passed from one to another, blessing us...‘No more “Hari Om!”; it is all “Mother!” now!’ he said...‘All my patriotism is gone. Everything is gone. Now it’s only “Mother, Mother!” I have been very wrong. Mother said to me, “What, even if unbelievers should enter My temples, and defile My images! What is that to you? Do you protect Me? Or do I protect you?” So there is no more patriotism. I am only a little child!’...

“Before breakfast the next morning, two of us were with him on the river bank for a moment, when, seeing the barber, he said, ‘All this must go!’ and left us, to come out again,

half-an-hour later, without a hair. Somehow, in ways and words that could scarcely be recounted, came to us now and then a detail of that austerity by which, in the past week, such illumination had come. We could picture the fasting... and the morning worship of a Brahmin pundit's little daughter as Uma Kumari—the Divine Virgin...”

On another occasion, she expressed some objection to animal sacrifice in the Kali temples. “He offered no argument... ‘Why not a little blood, to complete the picture?’ was his only direct reply to my objection.” “‘I worship the Terrible!’ he was constantly saying—and once, ‘It is a mistake to hold that with all men pleasure is the motive. Quite as many are born to seek after pain. Let us worship the Terror for its own sake.’”¹⁷

The Goddess's words, “Do you protect me? Or do I protect you?” may seem to support Professor Boaz's view that the terrific aspect of the Goddess derives from the mother's protective function. But this cannot explain “Who dares misery love and hug the form of death, to him the Mother comes.” Nor does it explain the austerities he felt compelled to undergo, nor the removal of all his hair, which psychoanalysts would regard as symbolising castration and the state of the child in the womb.

Ramakrishna Paramahansa had an experience which was in some ways similar. He records an impulse to violence against himself at a crisis in his spiritual development. “I was then suffering from excruciating pain, because I had not been blessed with a vision of the Mother... I was overpowered by a great restlessness and a fear that it might not be my lot to realise Her in this life. I could not bear the separation any longer; life did not seem worth living. Suddenly my eyes fell on the sword that was kept in the Mother's temple. Determined to put an end to my life, I jumped up like a madman and seized it, when suddenly the blessed Mother revealed herself to me, and I fell unconscious on the floor.”¹⁸

On this or a similar occasion, he says, “The room with its doors and windows, the temple, all that was about me vanish-

¹⁷ Nivedita, *The Master as I Saw Him*, pp. 152-58, 195-96.

¹⁸ Diwakar, *Paramahansa Sri Ramakrishna*, p. 100.

ed...In place of these things I saw nothing but a shining ocean, whose waves were over me in a moment, submerging me completely. I fell, suffocated, and lost consciousness." He often used the word ocean to describe his experience in samadhi. "A doll made of salt tries to measure the depth of the ocean, but as soon as the water touches it, it dissolves." "O divine Mother...let my spirit penetrate thine like the Ganga and the Jamuna at their confluence." He also used another figure of the same purport. "One day I was meditating on the Mother in the Kali temple, but I found I could not picture Her form to myself; then a moment later, She had taken the form of a prostitute named Ramani who had come to bathe at the ghat...Another day I saw the Mother as a prostitute dressed in the latest fashion, with a red mark on her forehead, a wig on her head, and smoking a hookah."¹⁹

Ramaprasad also often used the metaphor of the ocean. "Give me a place, O Mother. Singing thy glory, I will plunge into the sea of the universe." "O Mother, give me devotion. Cast me into the waters of salvation." One of the stories about his death is that on the day of Kali puja he followed the image when it was thrown into the river, and was drowned.

Water signifies the womb, as does the prostitute. Sleep, equated with the Goddess by Vishnu and Arjuna above, may also refer to the inter-uterine life.

During the Durga Puja in Bengal, it is customary for a family to make a chal, a construction of wood and canvas, which is carried in procession. The chal bears painted representations of the deities and their various incarnations. One of the forms of Durga represented is Chinnamastaka (severed head), "a reddish brown, naked, headless goddess, she stands upon a human couple and in one hand holds a gory scimitar and in the other, her own severed head, which drinks the warm blood, gushing forth from her headless trunk."²⁰

It is natural to interpret the severance of the head by a sword held in the hand of the image as symbolising self-castration by the devotee, and the drinking of her own blood as the re-entry into the womb.

¹⁹ Herbert, *Enseignement*, pp. 408, 417, 418, 421-22.

²⁰ Ghosha, *Durga Puja*, p. 9.

The act of cutting off one's own head as a sacrifice is represented in sculpture in the Varaha Mandapa at Mamallapuram. At Mallam, Nellore, is an inscription recording that in pursuance of a vow a man cut pieces of flesh from nine parts of his body and finally cut off his head as an offering to the Goddess Bhatai (Durga). The sacrifice of heads to the Goddess is referred to in the *Silappadikaram*,²¹ and the *Manimekhalai*.²² Cutting off one's own head with a sword, especially as an act of worship of Durga or Kali, is often referred to in mediaeval literature.

In nine of the stories in *Vikrama's Adventures*, Vikrama either kills himself or is about to do so when the deity stops him. (Edgerton's translation, pp. 54, 88, 94, 142, 151, 183, 202, 215, 220.) In seven of these he offers his life to a goddess, in most instances by cutting his throat with his sword. In one story he offers his life to Vishnu, and in one to Shiva. In two of the additional stories from the Jain recension he makes to kill himself in a similar way (pp. 257, 260). This version differs greatly from the work of the same Sanskrit title published as *Stories of Vikramaditya*. The frame story is similar, but of the 32 embossed stories only three or four are common, and the whole is two or three times as long. This work is far less serious and didactic; nevertheless, Vikrama and other characters commit suicide or are about to do so on 19 occasions (pp. 12, 16, 56, 98, 99, 105, 106, 215, 233, 269, 295, 299, 304, 307). Of these, eight are by way of offerings to Kali or other goddesses; one is to Shiva, one is to seven Rishis, and some others are to unspecified deities. In most cases, suicide is performed by cutting the throat, but in one case four people throw themselves into a fire, and on three occasions Vikrama jumps into vessels of boiling oil or ghee. The fire would usually be taken as a symbol of the male organ, and the vessel containing a liquid of the womb. In the *Katha Sarit Sagara* quite fifty male characters and twenty or more women commit or decide upon suicide. Several of the men do so by cutting the throat, often in Durga temples; but, in a few cases, the deity to

²¹ *Silappadikaram*, XII. concluding part.

²² *Manimekhalai*, Madhaviah's tr., p. 35.

whom the sacrifice is offered is Shiva, Vishnu, or Lakshmi.

Tod relates that during the fatal siege of Chitor in c. 1303 A.D. by Alauddin Khilji, the Rana Lakumsi saw a vision of the guardian goddess of the State, who demanded royal victims. The Rana and eleven of his twelve sons gave their lives, only one being allowed to escape and continue the dynasty. In addition, several thousand women immolated themselves.²³

There is evidence in various forms of worship of identification with the goddess. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* says, "I am identical with the Goddess."²⁴ In the Tantric sadhana mentioned above, the devotee is instructed to identify himself with the Goddess Tripurasundari. Discussing the followers of Vallabhacharya, Bhandarkar says, "Worship of Radha has given rise to a sect the members of which assume the garb of women with all their ordinary manners, and affect to be subject even to their monthly sickness."²⁵ Among some low castes of Bellary who dedicate their girls as Basavis, "there are men...who are dedicated to goddesses. They are generally beggars and wear female attire."²⁶ The Dheds, an untouchable community in Gujarat, cut the hair of their children as an act of worship, either at Dasara, the festival of the Goddess Durga, or upon a pilgrimage to the temple of the Goddess Amba at Mount Arasur. It is common for a man of the family to be possessed by the spirit of the Goddess during the hair-cutting ceremony.²⁷

Hair-cutting as an act of worship, mentioned here, is usually considered to symbolise castration. The practice of shaving the head when on a pilgrimage to Tirupati comes to mind. According to V. N. Srinivasa Rao, Tirupati was originally a Devi temple.²⁸ Cutting off a finger is a clearer symbol of castration. An inscription records that in A.D. 817 king Amoghavarsha of the Rashtrakuta dynasty cut off one of his fingers and offered it to the Goddess Mahalakshmi of

²³ Tod, *Annals*, Annals of Mewar, VI.

²⁴ *Mahanirvana Tantra*, V.106.

²⁵ Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Shaivism*, p. 86.

²⁶ Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 401.

²⁷ Stevenson, *Without the Pale*, pp. 25-26.

²⁸ V. N. Srinivasa Rao, *Tirupati*, p. 146.

Kolhapur in order to bring peace. During the Vijayadashami celebrations at Tuljapur, the leader of the palanquin bearers cuts his little finger and applies blood from it to the forehead of the image of the Goddess Bhawani.²⁹

In the instances mentioned hitherto, the worshipper of the goddess inflicts the symbolic castration upon himself. In some rituals, however, he inflicts it, or some other painful experience, upon somebody else. There is plenty of evidence of the former practice of human sacrifice to the Goddess. Folk tales and the mediaeval romances frequently refer to it. The *Katha Sarit Sagara* contains twelve references to the sacrifice of other people to Durga (chs. 10, 18, 22, 24, 38, 53, 55, 56, 60, 72, 101), and three references to such sacrifice to Shiva (chs. 71, 75, 102). An instance is believed to have occurred on the assumption of power by a raja as late as 1860.³⁰

In the ritual of the Thugs the victim was symbolically castrated, and the participants appear to have unconsciously identified themselves with the Goddess. The foray began with the worship of the Goddess Bhavani and of a pickaxe, regarded as her tooth, followed by the ritual consumption of sugar, which may have represented mother's milk. The victim was seduced by smiling friendliness, and was killed so suddenly that he was scarcely aware of the attack. The process avoided bloodshed and symbolised castration. The body was buried in mother earth. Women sometimes took part, and even wielded the noose. There was a rule against attacking women. Nearly all these characteristics of the procedure support the suggestion of an identification with the Goddess.

Though Urvashi was an Apsaras, not a goddess, her encounter with Arjuna should be mentioned here. When he was in heaven, having obtained the divine weapons, his father Indra sent Urvashi to him. Dressed in her most ravishing style, she visited him at night and confessed her love. He replied that she was the mother of his race (she and Pururavas were distant ancestors of the Pandavas), and refused. She said that older members of the family consorted with her, but he still refused. Infuriated, she cursed him to become

²⁹ Mate, *Temples*, pp. 46, 70.

³⁰ Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

a eunuch,³¹ and during the last year of his exile it was so. Arjuna had completed his tapasya, he was assured that his ancestors would not disapprove and his father wished it, and his impromptu (gandharva) marriage with Ulupi was a parallel to what Urvashi wished. Presumably, it was felt that as an exceptionally virtuous man, he must observe the incest taboo. Urvashi's action, however, seems to betray the real character of the aggression feared from the terrible mother figure.

The Sikh traditions record traces of the identification with the mother. Guru Govind Singh performed a sacrifice in honour of Durga. The Sikhs still maintain the belief in Durga as their war goddess. A clear expression of the unconscious feeling is the celebrated story of the institution of the Khalsa by Guru Govind Singh in about 1699. It took place on the first day of the year, which is a harvest and fertility festival. The Guru had a tent set up on a mound, and five goats hidden within it. He then summoned the faithful to assemble outside the tent, and drawing his sword, cried out that this "goddess of steel" was clamouring for the head of a Sikh. Who would offer his head? At length a man came forward. He was taken into the tent, those outside heard a blow, and blood trickled forth. The Guru appeared with reeking sword and asked for another head. In all five men were treated in this way. Then the five, dressed in uniform and armed with swords, emerged from the tent. With his sword the Guru stirred water in an iron vessel, his wife added sugar, and the elixir thus prepared was administered to the five, who were hailed as the founders of the Khalsa. It may be that the sword had the significance of the phallus, and the drink made by stirring with it was of the nature of semen. However, there can be no doubt about the mother symbolism. The five men were castrated and thus identified with the mother; they entered the womb and were born again, and then drank mother's milk.

The evidence of the event or legend just mentioned is clear, and it supports the interpretation given to the other facts. The terrible character of the goddess is due, perhaps

³¹ *MBh.*, Vana P. XLV-XLVI.

among other facts, to her demand for the castration of her devotees. But this castration, which allows of identification with her, represented by entry into her womb, is also desired. Hence the marked ambivalence of the attitude to her and ascribed to her, as in the prayers summarised above.

Durga is the predominant war deity. Evidently the soldier identifies with her in both of the two possible ways. He assimilates her ferocity towards the enemy, and he also assumes the attitude of the devotee who is castrated in order to achieve identification with her; i.e. he becomes willing to undergo suffering and death. Hindu military rhetoric puts more emphasis on readiness to die than on the effort to destroy the enemy. The revolutionary movement which was provoked by the partition of Bengal in 1905 showed the same ambivalence. As has been noticed in the chapter on the Mother Fixation, Berkeley-Hill, who came to India about that time, considered that the Hindu public felt that the partition of Bengal was equivalent to the rape of the mother, and the young men reacted accordingly. Many of them were Goddess-worshippers, and some of them regularly participated in animal sacrifices to the Goddess before proceeding on their expeditions. They were highly aggressive, but obsessed with the idea of self-sacrifice.

Somewhat later, the violent revolutionary movement gained considerable strength in Maharashtra. In that province Shaivism is relatively strong, and it is probable that the pronounced aggressiveness of the Shaivas is due to identification with the aggressive mother. It seems to have been common in the Maratha army to call the sword Bhavani (see the chapter on Shaivism). The violent nationalist movement gained adherents from a third principal group, the communities in North India which have been strongly influenced by the Arya Samaj. This sect was founded by Swami Dayanand, who was brought up as a Shaiva but in middle life rejected Puranic Hinduism and propounded a doctrine of his own which claimed to derive from the pre-Puranic, i.e. Vedic, religion. However, it seems to have achieved its marked success principally because of two other novelties: it accepted as Hindus, after suitable purification, people who had been converted

to other faiths, and it preached to the Hindu community the collective strength to be derived from organisation. In the circumstances of North India at that time, the late nineteenth century, both of these principles implied hostility to the Muslims. As Berkeley-Hill argued, in the unconscious, Hindus regard the Muslim community as guilty of rape upon Mother India and upon the cow, which also symbolises the mother. It is probable, therefore, that the pronounced aggressiveness of the Arya Samajists was due to a fixation upon the terrible mother.

Although theism is theoretically incompatible with philosophical monism, many Hindu theists profess monistic beliefs. This is true of Goddess-worshippers. Indeed, that should be expected, since the identification of the worshipper with a female deity is easier than with a male deity.

It is interesting that the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, a text of the Goddess-worshippers, while representing the male Gods as female—Brahma as a maiden, Vishnu with rising breasts³²—refers to the One as male. "He is the one real, without a second...He is without modifications, self-supporting, without differences, above attributes, the witness of everything, the soul of all...He is hidden in every being, is eternal and all-pervading."³³ This may be due to historical causes, but it seems possible that it is a straightforward expression of the fundamental belief or attitude of the narcissistic male, prevailing over all secondary beliefs and images. He identifies with the Mother, but the fact is rather that she identifies with him: he is the one reality.

All versions of the Shakta cosmological theory seem to preserve this distinction. The spirit is ultimately one, but it has an active manifestation, which at any level short of the ultimate is female, while that of which this is a manifestation is male. Like other versions of the narcissistic philosophy, this is capable of inspiring religion and art. Shakti is the introjected mother, who may be identified with the drive of the narcissistic libido to realise the ego-ideal, and may be projected upon the cosmos as its animating energy.

³² *Mahanirvana Tantra*, V. 56, 97.

³³ *Ibid.*, II.34-36.

A large part of the ethical aspiration of Hinduism derives from mothers, and this mother-coloured cosmology has been influential far beyond the bounds of the Shakta sect.

Shankaracharya, the classical expositor of absolute monism, is said to have been brought up as a Goddess-worshipper. According to the traditional story he left home and became a sanyasi at an early age, but retained his love for his mother; for, when he learnt that she had died, he went home to perform the last ceremonies, in defiance of the rule of his monastic order, which forbade any such family piety. Whether the story is true or not, it recognises the close association between the narcissistic philosophy of monism and the mother fixation.

The facts then enable us to say that the personality type which finds expression in Goddess-worship and is cultivated by it is narcissistic in the full sense. Nevertheless, many of the rituals and myths associated with Goddess-worship are of a violent character, and many Goddess-worshippers are markedly aggressive. A well-known recent instance is Swami Vivekananda. The fact that the most popular war-deity is a goddess has the same implication.

What, then, is the source of this aggressiveness? Psychoanalysts assume that aggressiveness is only in part spontaneous. It is partly a reaction to actual or feared aggression. The large fund of aggressiveness in the punitive is a response to his own aggression, which is directed upon himself by the super-ego. But in the unconscious the mother-devotee does not regard castration in order to achieve union with her as punishment: he desires it and welcomes it. Nivedita draws an eloquent picture of the terrible Goddess, reeking with blood, standing on the breast of Shiva, her husband. "She is blue almost to blackness, like a mighty shadow, and bare like the dread realities of life and death. But for Him there is no shadow. Deep into the heart of that Most Terrible, He looks unshrinking, and in that ecstasy of recognition He calls Her *Mother*. So shall ever be the union of the soul with God."³⁴ Castration by the mother does not provoke aggression.

It may be that in identifying with the castrating mother

³⁴ Nivedita, *Kali the Mother*, pp. 35-36.

the devotee mobilises whatever aggressiveness he is endowed with in order to achieve complete identification with that side of her character, and that individuals differ in regard to the charge of aggressiveness they are capable of mobilising. Those whose inborn, physiological aggressiveness is slight will not show the aggressive side of the mother-worshipper's character. Not all Shaktas do so: some, like Sri Aurobindo, and still more clearly, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, are relatively free from it.

In Goddess-worshippers in general ambivalence is marked. Up to this point, attention has been directed to the aggressive side of the Shakta tradition. The mother can, however, be identified with the ego-ideal and inspire the effort to realise it. There are alternative images of the mother more suited to this function. The mother may also inspire the worshipper to assume the attitude of a child towards her. Nivedita says that Vivekananda sang the songs of Ramaprasad "as if he would saturate his own mind with the conception of himself as a child." Ramaprasad, she says elsewhere, was unique as "a great poet whose genius is spent in realising the emotions of a child."³⁵

It was to play that I came to the earth...
In childhood's days what games I had...
Then I wasted in the joys of married life
The breath that should have been given to prayer.

"This tradition cultivates inactivity. Shiva prostrate under the feet of Kali "signifies inertness, the soul untouched and indifferent to the eternal."³⁶ Even Vivekananda had such moods: "All my patriotism is gone. I have been very wrong..."

Berkeley-Hill believed that the bad relations between Hindus and Muslims were due mainly to the memory of a conquest which seemed to bear the character of a rape of the Mother, and cow-slaughter, which offended the same sentiment.³⁷ It is also true that the ascription of a female character, or a

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁶ Nivedita, *Kali the Mother*, p. 34.

³⁷ Berkeley-Hill, "Hindu-Muslim Unity," *Int. J. of Psycho-Analysis* (1925), p. 282.

sexual character, to the deity is highly offensive to Muslims. The clash centres about those feelings which urge the one personality type towards, and the other away from, Goddess-worship. It may be said that in Goddess-worship, and especially in this non-aggressive side of it, are concentrated all that the average product of the punitive type of culture dislikes. Ramakrishna's doctrine of the equal validity of all religions is an abstract expression of the shapeless, invertebrate character, as the punitive regards it, of the Goddess-worshipping spirit. The eminent poet Iqbal, the first man to propose Pakistan, based his philosophy on a vehement reaction against Hindu passivity. Jung has written of the horror felt by the product of one culture at the prospect of being submerged in the undifferentiated, anonymous mass of people of another culture, and the fierce urge to preserve his separate identity. Punitives such as Muslims and Christians seem to experience that horror when brought into contact with Hindus. It may be guessed that the chief source of this horror is to be found in Goddess-worship, and that it is at bottom the horror—as the punitive feels it—of self-castration and the return to the womb.

Chapter 11

VILLAGE GODDESSES

IN THE VILLAGES all over South India, goddess cults prevail. Gods are worshipped, but not so universally. Their ritual is less elaborate, in the Tamilnad animals are not sacrificed to the principal village God, Iyenar, and the gods are usually regarded as subordinate to, or the consorts of goddesses.¹ Most of the goddesses are evil, or at least dangerous, though Anantakrishna Iyer says they have their benevolent aspect.² They are associated with diseases, famine, etc., and are propitiated in order to avert these disasters.

The buffalo cult

The ritual of Goddess-worship consists of the sacrifice of animals, principally buffaloes, but also sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls. In most instances reported, the buffalo is worshipped, garlanded, etc.; its head is cut off and placed before the image; its right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in its own mouth; sometimes both forelegs, or its heart, lungs, and liver, are put in its mouth; fat from its stomach is smeared over its eyes and nose; rice is put on the fat; and a lighted earthenware lamp is placed on its head. In some cases, blood is smeared on the forehead of the yajamana, the man who pays for the ceremony.³ In others, the image of the goddess is made to "drink" the blood; in still others, a priest does it for her.⁴

Whitehead wrote that he had failed to discover the meaning of this ritual, and he quoted without comment a note by Maharaja Sir V. S. Ranga Rao, who says that villagers, when

¹ Whitehead, *Village Gods*, 17-18.

² L. A. Iyer, *Mysore Tribes*, I. 325.

³ Whitehead, 51, 64-65.

⁴ Elmore, *Dravidian Gods*, 135-36.

confessing guilt to the headman, put a straw or the right forefinger crosswise in the mouth to indicate repentance; he therefore suggests that the buffalo's right foreleg placed crosswise in the mouth signifies a prayer to the goddess for the forgiveness of sins.⁵ However, these sacrificial rituals betray no other sign of repentance or guilt feeling. There is no sin-offering, says Whitehead; there is no penitence for sin.⁶ The propitiation of the village goddesses is not to expiate moral lapses, says Elmore.⁷

Placing part of the sacrificial animal's body in its own mouth may have the same meaning as the Goddess Chinna-mastaka cutting off her own head and receiving in her mouth the blood from her severed neck (*see* chapter on Goddess-Worship). As has been suggested, this symbolises self-castration and the attainment of union with the mother by entry into her womb. The smearing of fat from the stomach over the face of the buffalo recalls the Vedic burial rite, in which a cow was killed, omentum or fat from its stomach was spread over the head and mouth of the corpse, and the cow's hide was wrapped round it. At the same time, a prayer was addressed to the Earth Goddess to treat the dead man as a mother her son.⁸ These observances clearly symbolise the return to the womb. The image or the priest drinking the buffalo's blood has the same meaning.

Soon after it is killed, "some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mala boys, *siddhalu*, the innocents, as they are called. They are then all covered over with a large cloth, and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them."⁹ The feeding of innocent children thus enclosed is an evident symbol of life in the womb.

The lighted lamp on the head of the buffalo may then represent the male sex organ, as lights and flames often do, and as headgear often does. On this view, the severed head represents the male organ, and the lamp duplicates the symbol-

⁵ Whitehead, 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 85, 155.

⁷ Elmore, 158.

⁸ *Rigveda*, X. 1. 16. 7, X. 2. 2. 10-11; *see* Bhandarkar, *Aspects*, pp. 71-72.

⁹ Whitehead, 52-53.

ism. A number of circumstances connected with the ritual give support to this interpretation.

The buffalo is a male,¹⁰ and is sometimes said to be the goddess's husband.¹¹ In some cases the consecrated buffalo is allowed for some time before the sacrifice to wander about the village at will.¹² This recalls the usage in the Ashva-medha Yajna: the sacrificial horse, after wandering unchecked for a year, was killed and then made the husband for one night of the chief queen. Thurston quotes a report to a similar effect about the victim in the Meriah sacrifice: "He is allowed to wander about the village, to eat and drink anything he may take a fancy to, and even to have connection with any of the women he may meet."¹³ Men who volunteered to be offered as victims in the annual sacrifice to the Goddess Kamakhya in Assam "became almost sacred and everything was put at their disposition; they were allowed as many women as they asked."¹⁴

The description of the ritual in a village near Bellary says, "A fresh buffalo is always dedicated immediately after the festival, lest the goddess should be left a widow."¹⁵ This is reminiscent of the annual sacrifice of the lover of the Great Mother who, according to Professor Kosambi, is referred to in the story of Pururavas and Urvashi.¹⁶ The worship of some of the Mysore village goddesses includes a mock human sacrifice.¹⁷ In some places, village Goddess-worship is associated with karagam ceremonies. The karagam is a decorated pot, sometimes full of water, which a man carries on his head as he walks, or rather dances, along the prescribed route to the village boundary or wherever it may be.¹⁸ Kosambi argues that this ritual derives from the mother goddess cult and symbolises human sacrifice.¹⁹

Dubois describes the sacrifice of a human victim by Lambadis. "They dig a hole in which they bury him up to the neck. While he is still alive they make a sort of lamp of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 56, 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 73, 85.

¹² *Ibid.*, 78, 107.

¹³ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, III. 375.

¹⁴ Eliade, *Yoga*, 305.

¹⁵ Whitehead, 73.

¹⁶ J. R. A. S. (Bombay, 1951), Vol. 27, pp. 8-14.

¹⁷ Whitehead, 82.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 39, 96.

¹⁹ J. R. A. S. (Bombay, 1951), p. 27.

dough made of flour, which they place on his head. This they fill with oil, and light four wicks in it. Having done this, the men and women join hands and, forming a circle, dance round the victim, singing and making a great noise, till he expires."²⁰ Thurston cites evidence that this rite was performed during the nineteenth century,²¹ and Elmore quotes two witnesses who claimed to have seen it.²² He remarks that during the worship of one of the village goddesses, four pigs are buried alive with their heads above ground.²³ Whitehead says that pigs are buried alive with their heads above ground, and cattle are driven over them, trampling them to death.²⁴

The village god Kuttandevār is represented by an image of a head without a body, thus looking as if buried up to the neck. He is worshipped by men dressed as women, with talis (marriage tokens) which are worn for one day and cut in the evening, signifying widowhood and therefore the death of the god.²⁵ Evidently, Kuttandevār represents the victim who in these sacrifices to the goddess symbolically enters her womb. After the buffalo sacrifice at Gudivadu, the priest is dressed in woman's clothes and taken to the boundary of the village in a cart furnished with nine stakes on which pigs, lambs, or fowls are impaled alive.²⁶ Elmore gives several instances of transvestism during these rituals.²⁷ Transvestism suggests an unconscious desire to identify with the mother. In one of these instances, a man dressed as a woman rides in a cart with nine stakes on which animals are impaled, and is taken to the temple, where a tenth animal is impaled: "The usual explanation of the impaling of the animals is that Ankamma (the goddess) enters the man who is disguised as a woman, and is propitiated by this suffering and shedding of blood."²⁸ The identification of the goddess and the transvestite, and the association with bloodshed, tend to confirm the suggestion that these rituals express the desire to achieve self-castration and a return to the womb.

²⁰ Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, p. 70.

²¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV. 237.

²² Elmore, 44.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁴ Whitehead, 53, 59.

²⁷ Elmore, 11, 18, 30, 37.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

That the lighted lamp on the sacrificial animal's head represents the male sex-organ is confirmed by other rituals and legends. In a rite associated with the worship of the village goddesses Doddamma and Chikkamma at Bikkannahalli, Salem District, women who have taken a vow bathe naked at night in the tank of the temple, and then dress in leaf garments and walk in procession three times round the temple, each carrying on her head a lighted lamp made of rice-flour. The observance is believed to ensure offspring.²⁹ Among the Agasa of Chitaldrug, a widow who is to remarry is conducted to the bridegroom's room and knocks on the door; he asks who she is, and she replies that she has come to light a lamp in his room.³⁰ In the Bengal story of Lakshminder and Behula (a version differing from that referred to in the chapter on Caste), a lamp in the bridal chamber remains alight until, a year later, Lakshminder is restored to life.³¹ Thus, the lighted lamp is equivalent to the external soul. As has been shown in the chapter on Caste, the external soul is typically the sex-organ. This story thus confirms the identification of the lighted lamp with the sex-organ.

✓ At Bellary men make offerings to Durgamma of a silver pin six inches long with which they have pierced their cheeks. They come to the temple carrying a lighted lamp on a tray on the head. The lamp is placed on the ground before the goddess, and the pin is taken from the cheeks and offered to her.³² Piercing the cheeks is likely to represent castration. If so, the lighted lamp probably represents the male organ.

✓ According to Elmore, some of the village goddesses are benevolent, or at least not harmful, and these are actual women, most of whom died recently, who have been deified because of their philanthropy. Their worship is milder than that offered to the evil goddesses. In one case there is no animal sacrifice, though there is hook-swinging—nowadays only a goat is hooked; a man is tied to the swinging beam.³³ Though it would be unwise to base inferences on rituals which were established

²⁹ *Salem Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 121.

³⁰ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, II. 14.

³¹ Nivedita and Coomaraswamy, *Myths*, pp. 327, 329.

³² Whitehead, 76.

³³ Elmore, 27-31.

only recently, in partial imitation of older ones, these facts tend to confirm the assumption that devotees have an unconscious desire to enter the womb only of goddesses who are feared.

The ancient worship of the mother goddess was associated with ritual prostitution, in which the worshipper's action resembled the unconscious fantasy in which he became identified with the goddess by entering her womb. What may be traces of this association still persist in the village goddess cult. The Asadis of the Bellary District, an untouchable caste, are "the nearest approach to a priestly caste" of the village goddess cult. They take wives from the Madigas, an untouchable caste, but dedicate all their daughters as Basavis, i.e. sacred prostitutes.³⁴ A Matangi is a woman of the Madiga caste who is believed to be possessed by one of the goddesses. She is confirmed by a process of selection and dedication, and is finally married to a tree. "After that her life knows no moral restrictions."³⁵ On certain occasions, she visits Brahmans' houses, where she receives presents of clothes, toddy, and a basketful of food with a lighted lamp on the top, and although she is an untouchable, it is her duty, on this and other occasions, to revile and spit on people of the higher castes, including Brahmans. In some places, Brahmans worship her.³⁶ The reversal of normal values, the worship of an untouchable prostitute, and the acceptance of her saliva as holy, is reminiscent of the combination of love and fear of the mother goddess cult. The custom is probably a survival of ritual prostitution, and the presentation of the lighted lamp, a phallic symbol, is in accordance with this view of it. The likely effect of the rite is to arouse unconscious fantasies of a return to the womb; the aggressive character of mother image should be noticed.

The fertility rituals mentioned above, in which a man is killed and his corpse, either whole or torn to pieces, is buried in the earth, may have a different origin from the worship of the goddess with animal sacrifices, or they may have diverged from a common origin. They have common features, and in both cases the male worshipper would identify with the victim.

³⁴ Whitehead, 44-45.

³⁵ Elmore, 22-24.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 122-23.

Legends

Elmore gives twenty-nine legends about women who have been deified by villagers. Many of the legends, to his mystification, concern sexual irregularities and other improper acts, and in most cases it is the guilty person who has been deified. I propose to give summaries of all these legends. They furnish fairly convincing evidence of the correctness of the analysis here proposed.

1. Buchamma burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre. A few days later, she appeared in spirit to her father and complained that a Mala, an untouchable, had defiled her ashes by turning over a piece of her dress with a stick. Her father retrieved her tali and jewels from the pyre; these were credited with magical powers, and she became a village goddess. (Elmore, pp. 59-60.) The untouchable's act was symbolic of sexual defilement.

2. Lingamma, a servant in a rich man's house, was accused of theft and drowned herself. Misfortunes began to occur, and she appeared in a dream to her former employer demanding to be worshipped. A temple was built, containing images of her and her husband. During worship the images are married, and worshippers hope for offspring. (pp. 60-61.) In view of her situation as servant in a rich man's house, it is probable that the ground of her dismissal and suicide was sexual. In any event, those who heard the legend would assume that it was so. The fertility cult which has grown up around her supports this view.

3. A Muslim woman was detected in sin with a Hindu. She drowned herself, and her ghost demanded to be worshipped. She is not worshipped but is propitiated as a dangerous spirit. (p. 63.)

4. Kanakamma was a Brahman girl whose brothers suspected her of immoral conduct. She drowned herself in a well, and the villagers built a temple nearby and began to worship her. (p. 65.)

5. Gonti, a Shudra woman, had improper relations with a Mala, an untouchable. Her brothers tried to kill her. She fled to her paramour, but inadvertently insulted his brother and had to flee again. Some people concealed her, but that

night she vanished, and since then the Malas have worshipped her. When they want rain, they make an image of her and hide it; then they light a fire under a pot of milk, and while it burns, women sing amorous songs to awaken her. (pp. 67-68.)

6. Podilamma was suspected of sexual misconduct, and her brothers, who were farmers, threw her under the feet of their oxen. She vanished, and all that they could find was a stone. Her spirit demanded that they worship the stone. (p. 69.)

7. Nagamma had improper relations with the barber and was driven from home. She went to live with a doctor, and was delivered of the barber's son. After living with the doctor for some time she deserted him for the village clerk. She managed the clerk's farm and household so well that he became rich, and when she died he built a temple for her. People worship her in the hope of good crops. (pp. 72-73.)

8. Verdatchamma did not live with her husband. She received a gift of land from a nawab. She gave money for the digging of an irrigation tank. The bank was built up by day but collapsed at night. Two boys heard a supernatural voice declare that if a human sacrifice were made the bank could be built; they volunteered and were sacrificed, with the desired result. There are two temples for the woman, and stones and conduit pipes to commemorate the boys. (pp. 73-74.) There is no mention of sexual impropriety on her part, but the circumstances point to it.

9. A man had improper relations with a married woman. The husband killed them both. The voice of the murdered man was heard demanding worship. A temple was built for him, and a shrine for the woman. The worship of the man, Kotappa Konda Swami, is however more important. People worship them to obtain good crops, cattle and children. (pp. 117-18.) An alternative version is that Kotappa Konda Swami was a Rishi, and a girl took buttermilk to him every day. Her seven brothers heard of their sinful relations and killed them. (p. 117.)

10. A rich widow named Kotamma insulted and dismissed her Brahman cook, and when he got another job caused him to be dismissed again. He drowned himself. His ghost threat-

ened the widow's son and son-in-law, both of whom died. The widow built a temple and fed Brahmans. (p. 119.) There is no mention of sexual misconduct, but the circumstances suggest it.

11. A Brahman woman named Aranjothi married but remained in her parents' house. One night her husband entered silently and lay down with her. She did not recognise him and kicked him. He cursed her to be reborn a Madiga, untouchable, and her parents cursed him to be reborn the son of a prostitute. She was reborn in the normal way in a Madiga family. He was born the son of a prostitute who had been impregnated by the proximity of an image in a temple. They married, and she is worshipped. (pp. 119-21.)

12. A king on a pilgrimage fell under a curse and offered half his kingdom to some Brahmans if they would obtain his release. They demanded surety, and he called in a local goddess to be his witness. He was released from the curse, and left for his kingdom. The Brahmans asked for their reward, but he denied having made any promise. They went back to the goddess, and she agreed to follow them, if they would refrain from looking back. Half way they did so, and she was turned into an image of stone. They built a temple for her. (p. 122.) Psycho-analysts interpret such looking back as spying on the parents' intercourse. In this instance, the punishment has been displaced from the guilty children on to the mother.

13. A local goddess named Maha Lakshmi was a Brahman woman who led an evil life and was killed and thrown into a pond. Her spirit demanded worship. (p. 124.)

14. An untouchable pretended to be a Brahman, became the pupil of a Brahman, and eventually married his daughter. The untouchable's mother inadvertently betrayed him, and the wife burnt herself. Her spirit demanded worship and the sacrifice of her husband in the form in which the buffalo is now sacrificed: this is said to be the origin of the buffalo ritual, and the story is related about many goddesses to whom the buffalo is sacrificed. (pp. 129-30.) Nanjundayya gives a version of this legend, and says that the buffalo's foreleg is put in its mouth as a punishment of the man's "having laid his unholy

hands on her breast.”³⁷ The emphasis on the breast confirms the suggestion that the worshippers’ attitude is that of the child to the mother. Thurston also gives this legend, adding that it is told to explain the worship of Sunkulamma practised in the villages of Kurnool. During this ceremony, a performer called the maker of offerings to the spirits strips naked, has all his head and body hair shaved, and is smeared all over with blood.³⁸ Naked, hairless, and bloody: this surely represents the return to the womb.

Thus of the twenty-nine legends of village goddesses collected by Elmore, the fourteen summarised above deal either explicitly (8) or presumptively (6) with improper sex relations. This theme is such as to lead to unconscious fantasies of the most improper of all sex relations, that with the mother, and thus suggests the return to the mother’s womb. In four of these legends the victim is drowned, and in one other she is thrown into a pond. This is considered to symbolise re-entry into the amniotic fluid. In another her worshippers boil a pot of milk, a symbol with the same meaning.

15. Elmore also records that during the worship of the village goddess Gangamma or Usuramma the Madigas perform a ritual which fairly clearly refers to the same theme. A Madiga dressed as a warrior cuts down a pith post with his sword. The legend which explains this says that a Madiga army led by king Berunaydu was marching to war. In order to block his advance the gods placed across the road a log such as no one had ever seen before, so big that nobody could scale it. King Berunaydu cut the log in two with one stroke of his sword, and the army marched through. “This sword appears to be connected with the one used in beheading the buffalo sacrifice.” (p. 32 and 110 footnote.) Since the log is connected with the gods, and with the buffalo sacrifice, the cutting down of the pith post probably represents castration. On the other hand, the opening of the path suggests the entry into the womb; this theme recurs in several legends concerning the crossing of rivers. (See pp. 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70 below.)

In the remaining fourteen legends concerning village god-

³⁷ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, IV.158.

³⁸ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV.339-41.

desses in Elmore's book, no sexual theme is either overt or hinted at. However, in three of them the victim is guilty of a violation of, or of a desire to violate, a food taboo, and in two of these three the victims are drowned. It is pointed out in the chapter on Caste that there is an unconscious association between the mouth and the sex-organ. Here it seems likely that the desire to eat forbidden food symbolises the desire to commit a sexual transgression. The legends are these:

16. A Muslim beggar and his wife were entertained to dinner by Hindus and fed with pork. They drowned themselves, and then appeared as dangerous spirits, the woman being called Tota Kuramma. (p. 62.)

17. A Muslim woman ate pork with a Hindu woman friend. She drowned herself, and the hostess in remorse also drowned herself. Both became evil spirits, the Muslim again being called Tota Kuramma. (p. 63.)

18. A woman of the Komati caste, customarily vegetarian, fell ill and craved for meat, which was refused. She died, and her spirit began killing cattle in order to satisfy her desire. She is called Kanaka Durgamma. (p. 64.)

In five other legends of this collection, the victims die by violence. In one of these the victim is a girl who shows signs of supernatural powers, and would therefore be regarded as sexually dangerous. The legends are:

19. A little girl named Mundla Mudamma was found to have the power to defeat the village boys at games, and to draw the cattle to her by a cry. The villagers were afraid and decided to kill her. She drowned herself, or according to an alternative version, a magician tried to restrain her activities, and she vanished and was replaced by a stone. She was worshipped. (pp. 70-71.)

20. Kitsamma, a sati, spoke from the flames of her funeral pyre. Later her voice was heard in another place. (p. 75.)

21. Mangamma burned herself with her husband, and some time later a stone appeared which the villagers identified with her. They therefore built a temple. They go to the hills and call, and when they hear a reply, they proceed with her worship. (p. 76.)

22. Two unmarried sisters quarrelled and committed suicide.

They are worshipped, especially by thieves who wish to be protected from the police. Much blood is shed. (p. 76.)

23. Several sisters quarrelled and killed one another. Sick-ness appeared, and through a diviner they rebuked their relatives for not preventing their deaths, and demanded worship. The fishermen pray to them for safety at sea, and call them Akka Devatalu. (pp. 76-77.)

In the remaining six of Elmore's legends of village goddesses, no element of sexual impropriety or of violence is found, but in some of them he notes that the story seems to have been partly forgotten. To give a complete picture, these legends are summarised.

24. Disease attacked the village, and the spirit of Usuramma, who had died shortly before, spoke complaining that though she had been a good woman and worthy of worship they neglected her. She was worshipped. (p. 61.)

25. A little girl named Ladothamma died, and her ghost returned and played with the other children, but her parents could not see it. Eventually they built a temple for her. Elmore comments on the exceptionally "pure and pleasing" nature of this legend. (pp. 71-72.)

26. A goddess of a certain village appeared in a dream to a cartman and told him she would protect him if he built a temple for her in his own village, some distance from hers. He did so, and she is now called Bandlamma, cart goddess, and is worshipped with the hook-swinging of a goat. (pp. 74-75.)

27. A village girl died, and soon afterwards cholera broke out. Her spirit demanded worship, and it is accorded to her, though she does not inspire much fear. (p. 76.)

28. A farmer found that he had an inexhaustible grain bin. He searched for the cause and found a stone, and through a diviner the spirit of Kulagollamma announced herself and demanded a temple and worship. (p. 77.)

29. A villager dreamed that he saw a goddess rise from the grass pad called kudulla under a water pot. She demanded worship, and it is given, with much bloodshed. She is called Kukullamma. (p. 78.)

Of these twenty-nine goddesses, nineteen died by violence.

of them five by drowning and four by burning; in addition, one died from a curse, and an attempt was made to kill another. Thirteen of them were suicides, while acts of suicide by others occur in two of the legends. This accords with the view that the idea inspiring goddess-worship is the return to the womb, though only four of the legends (1, 5, 14, and 15), can be said to symbolise it in any more specific way. In 11, however, Aranjothi and her husband are reborn, which of course is a case of return to the womb.

It may be noticed that in none of these legends is it the father or the parents who punish the sinful woman. In 11 her parents curse their son-in-law. In 14 her father gives her, in cryptic terms, the advice to burn herself. In 7 her husband and brothers drive her from the house, and her parents refuse to admit her to theirs. In 4, 5, 6, and 9 the sinful woman's brothers punish her. This emphasis on the brothers supports the generalisation that in the narcissistic family the father tends to retire in favour of the son.

Whitehead's legends

Whitehead gives nine legends about village goddesses. They are summarised below:

30. A widow named Ramamma had immoral relations with her servant. Her brother murdered them. Cattle-plague broke out, and the villagers attributed it to her wrath and instituted rites to pacify her spirit. When cattle-plague occurs they take images of Ramamma and her servant round the village in a cart. (Whitehead, p. 21.)

31. This is a version of the *Silappadikaram*. The king of Madura closed the temple of the goddess Minachiamman. Planning revenge, she took birth as a girl, whom the king wished to adopt. But he was warned of the danger, and threw her in a basket into the river. When she grew up and married, her husband was falsely accused of stealing the queen's bracelet and was executed by the king's orders. She took the form of Durga and killed him, and this act has given her a taste for blood. (p. 113.)³⁹ In the standard version, Kannaki destroys

³⁹ A similar version, in which the avenging goddess is born in the king's
H—17

Madura by the power of her chastity, but she does not kill the king, nor is she thrown into the river in a basket. These additions assimilate her to the son who is destined to castrate and kill his father. (See the chapter on Mythology.) Here she is identified with Durga, the terrible mother, and it is thus implied that in the unconscious the terrible mother is regarded as castrating her son.

32. Madurai-Viran was a soldier. The king's daughter fell in love with him. He resigned from the army and went away with her, and after their death, because they had sacrificed everything for love, they were worshipped. (p. 113.)

33. The Rishi Piruhu had a beautiful and virtuous wife. When he was away one day, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva came to see whether she was as beautiful and virtuous as report declared. To safeguard herself she turned them into children, and they replied by cursing her to lose her beauty. Thereupon pock-marks appeared on her face. When the Rishi returned, he cursed her to be reborn as an evil spirit who would cause a disease which would make people resemble her. She is worshipped as the small-pox goddess. (p. 115.) The terrible mother again deprives men of their sexual power, this time by turning them into children.

34. This is a version of the story of Jamadagni, Renuka, and Parashurama. When Parashurama was about to cut off her head, in her distress she embraced a Pariah woman, and both their heads were cut off. When they were restored to life, the heads were attached to the wrong bodies. Both have since been worshipped as village goddesses. (p. 116.) This confusion of persons suggests improper sex relations, for, who is now the wife of whom?

35. The goddess of the weavers in the Coimbatore district was an incarnation of Parvati, who led them in a successful fight against the Rakshathas. (pp. 122-23.)

36. The goddess of the Komatis was an incarnation of Parvati, who led them in a victorious fight against the Mlecchas. After the victory the Komatis doubted her chastity and compelled her to purify herself by passing through a fire. She

family and is thrown into the river, is current in the Tamil province of Ceylon. *Tamil Culture*, (Madras, April-June, 1963), p. 78.

disappeared in the fire, telling them to worship her. (p. 123.)

37. A man wished to marry his daughter to a certain suitor. She refused and drowned herself. She appeared in a dream and demanded worship. (p. 126.)

38. Whitehead's last legend about a goddess is recited by the Asadis, the untouchable priest caste of Bellary. It extends over ten pages of his book, and much of it seems, as he says, to be an account, in fairytale language, of a conflict between the village goddess cult and the worship of the Hindu deities. However, parts of it allow of a different interpretation.

Ammavaru, who existed before everything else, laid three eggs in the sea of milk. Two were spoilt, but from the third Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva were born. She fed Shiva with her milk. Later she made towns for them. But they neglected to worship her, and Shiva insulted her. So she set out on a punitive expedition against him. With the help of a sage she besieged Devagiri, Shiva's town. "Seven rudraksha berries were placed on the ground, on these seven bhadrakshas, i.e. a kind of bead in which are marks said to resemble eyes, and on these needles were stuck to support balls of sacred ashes. Through these balls were driven steel spikes which supported a single-headed rudraksha berry, with seeds of a sacred plant on the top. The sage then put his head on the seeds and raised his legs high up in the air. Birds built their nests on his neck... He remained silent and spoke to no one... Ammavaru moved steadily on, and appointed... a twelve-headed snake which coiled its body all round the town... The heads of the kings (Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva) who refused to worship Ammavaru were cut off... and then all put on again." (pp. 129-30.)

Spikes driven through balls of sacred ashes symbolise castration, and the sage standing on his head may have the same meaning, since the phallus upside down is in the detumescent position. Tapas is self-castration with the purpose of acquiring power. Alternatively, the sage standing motionless on an edifice of sacred objects may represent the permanent phallus, which is endowed with magic power. The symbol condenses these two meanings. The snake coiling its body round the town and the rebellious sons' heads being cut off and then put on

again suggests their return to the womb and their rebirth.

38a. In the course of her efforts to enter Devagiri, Amma-varu was challenged by the guards and asked to tell the story of Shiva and Parvati, which she did. At their wedding, Brahma desired Parvati and disturbed the ceremony. Shiva became angry and cut off one of Brahma's heads. The head stuck to Shiva's hand and could not be removed. Brahmans advised him to rid himself of guilt by going as a beggar on a pilgrimage and obtaining alms from Lakshmi. He did so, and when Lakshmi with her own hands served him food, the skull at last fell from his hand. The skull begged to be provided for, and Shiva replied that "it might take hold of pregnant women, women during confinement, and babies, and that this would enable it to obtain worship and offerings." (pp. 132-33.)

Thurston gives a version of this story told by the Sembadavan, who have a tradition of corpse-eating. At her swayamvara (ceremonial choice of a husband), Parvati could not distinguish between Shiva and Brahma, so Shiva cut off his rival's head. The head stuck to his hand. To get rid of it and the guilt of murder he wandered as a pilgrim, and at last came to the burning-ground at Malayanur, where some bhutas were eating corpses. Parvati came there, but failed to recognise Shiva. At this the skull on his hand laughed and fell off. The bhutas made a liquor of herbs, by drinking which Shiva was absolved of his guilt.⁴⁰

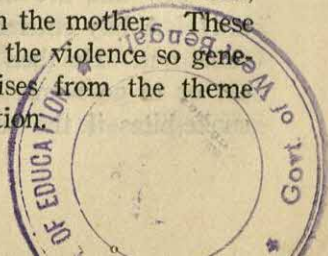
This legend presumably derives from the Vedic story of Prajapati's intercourse with his daughter and his castration by his son Rudra. In later times Prajapati became Brahma and Rudra became Shiva. This folk version retains the castration in a symbolic form, and is thus almost unique among modern legends in narrating a son's attack upon his father—for though in this context Brahma and Shiva are brothers, in mythology generally Brahma is well known as the father of the gods. The story is unusual also in providing a clear symbol of guilt. The head sticking to the hand evidently has that meaning. However, it is interpreted in a manner consistent with the narcissistic

⁴⁰ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI.357.

attitude. In Thurston's version the guilt is dispelled when Shiva takes a drink made by corpse-eaters, i.e. he obtains a supply of semen. Guilt is deprivation of the sex-organ; when that organ can function once more, the guilt vanishes. In Whitehead's version, Shiva obtains freedom from guilt by receiving food from the hands of Mother Lakshmi. This brings the two versions together by equating milk and semen; it also symbolises a return to the state of childhood innocence, and thus to the womb.

In the chapter on Caste, evidence is presented of a tendency to abandon the old practice of gaining "life-substance," semen, from other groups by means of head-hunting, corpse-eating, Thagi, ritual prostitution, and the like, and to replace it by a practice of safeguarding the purity of the life-substance of the caste by preventing intercourse with outsiders. This change involves restrictions on the freedom of women, and may coincide with the change from the mother-right to the father-right order. The legend, which Whitehead interprets as describing a conflict between the village goddesses and the Hindu deities, evidently shows the victory of the village goddess cult and of the practices associated with gaining life-substance from outside sources by corpse-eating, etc.

In Whitehead's nine legends of goddesses, therefore, three refer to castration by the mother, and of these the last (38) refers to the return to the womb. Five refer to or hint at improper sex relations, which as in Elmore's legends may suggest fantasies of the return to the womb. In six of the legends victims die by violence; in three of these the act of violence is committed by a woman; and in one a suicide occurs. Whitehead's legends therefore corroborate the conclusions drawn from those collected by Elmore. They supply evidence that the psychology of the villagers who worship or propitiate female gramadevatas or shaktis is similar to that of the Hindus who worship the Devi, and that the main unconscious impulse to be detected is that of self-castration, return to the womb and identification with the mother. These legends also tend to confirm the view that the violence so generally associated with goddess-worship arises from the theme of castration and needs no other explanation.



Village gods

Together with these legends about goddesses, Elmore and Whitehead give a number concerning gods. Some of these show the same ideas, but others are clearly of different inspiration.

39. An untouchable horn-blower, a magician, had improper relations with a caste woman. The villagers seized him with the intention of sacrificing him to the village goddess. They tried to cut his throat but could not do so. He explained that he was protected by an amulet in a knot of his hair. They cut the hair, and the amulet fell out. They then cut his throat, and buried him in a hole in the ground and trod on it. Much trouble occurred in the village, but they did not worship him. Instead they made gold models of his horn and drums and worshipped them. Elmore considers that he would have become a regular village deity if he had been a woman. (Elmore, pp. 65-67.) The cutting of the hair, from which the amulet falls, and the cutting of the throat, both symbolise castration, and the burial symbolises the return to the womb. The feeling stimulated by the story is appropriate to the worship of a goddess, and he is not worshipped. What is worshipped is a set of gold objects resembling his sex organ, the part which achieved the unconscious aim of goddess-worship. This legend fuses the worship of god and goddesses, lingam and yoni.

40. Relatives deprived a rich young man of his property. He became a shepherd, and one day fell into a gorge and died. His voice was heard, and he was worshipped. (p. 75.) It is possible that the events of this legend are somewhat unusual symbols of the familiar themes: the loss of property for castration, and the fall into the gorge for the entry into the womb. It is uncommon for the man who undergoes this experience to be worshipped; however, in two of the legends cited below (47, 48), the ox and the lingam are treated in this way and are worshipped.

41. A boy entered an anthill and for three days refused to come out. He then emerged carrying snakes. He refused to eat or to go home, but told the villagers that he would cure snake-bites if the sufferers would come to the anthill carry-

ing a stone on the head, and call his name. He then returned to the anthill and was never seen again. The villagers suffered from the attentions of evil spirits and so began to worship him. (pp. 115-16.) The anthill is a phallic object: the boy seems to have acquired the power of the permanent phallus, which he offered to exercise against man's phallic enemies, the snakes. The stone on the head recalls the lamp on the head of the sacrificial buffalo, and may represent the phallus. In legends 6, 19, 21, and 28 above, a stone represents the soul of the goddess. It is in fact the external soul, which, as is shown in the chapter on Caste, is typically the sex-organ.

42. A Brahman and a Shudra were friends. "As usual in these stories, there was a woman in the case, and because of her unfaithfulness the Brahmin resolved to become a hermit and die there." The Shudra died with him. Temples to regular gods were built, but small shrines commemorated the friends, and they are believed to cast out devils. (p. 64.) Exceptionally, the guilty woman was not worshipped. It is possible, however, that no sexual impropriety was involved. There is nothing calling for comment in the worship of an ascetic and his faithful friend.

43. In 1904 near Ellore two boys said that they had heard the sound of trumpets from an anthill. The villagers worshipped the deity in the anthill, and were soon joined by thousands of people from neighbouring villages. (Whitehead, p. 20.)

44. A little boy was murdered for his jewels. His body was thrown into a canal, but when found was placed under a tree, where his parents built a small shrine. Someone declared that a vow he had made at the shrine had been fulfilled, and the worship of the spirit of the boy became popular. (p. 21.) As in legend 40 above, it is possible that the robbery of the jewels was felt to symbolise castration, and the fall into the canal the entry into the womb.

45. Eighteen magicians made themselves invisible and entered the Alagiriswami temple in Madura in order to steal the spiritual essence of the god, which they proposed to take away in a wooden cylinder. The god warned the king. The

king had boiling rice-water poured into the temple yard, and the steam rose and melted the paste with which the magicians had made themselves invisible. They were executed, and buried in the steps, nine on each side, leading up to the platform on which the god Karuppan stands. The key to the temple treasury is placed on this platform at night, but nobody dares to take it. Civil law-suits are sometimes brought to the temple to be settled: it is believed that nobody will swear falsely in the presence of Karuppan. (pp. 114-15.) The two symmetrical flights of steps up to the platform represent legs, and the key to the treasury on the platform between them represents the sex-organ. This identification is confirmed by the story that what the thieves intended to steal was not the key or the treasure but the spiritual essence of the god, and that this was to be placed in a wooden cylinder. The fear of giving false testimony in the presence of this object recalls the ancient Hebrew oath on the testicles. Thus the theme of the legend is the magic power associated with the male sex-organ.

46. A king promised some men payment in gold for digging a tank. When they had finished they asked for payment, but he put them off with silver. In the presence of the king they cut their own throats, and they have since been worshipped. (p. 124.)

47. A man was worshipping a lingam on a river bank, when he saw a stone ox, which he put in his pocket to take home for the children. When he reached home it came alive, and fought another ox. The owner of the second ox killed it, but was immediately stood upon his head, unable to move. The man who had found the stone ox now declared that it was a god. In his hut he found it with a broken horn and a spear-wound in its side. The village priest declared that they must offer milk to the stone ox every day. One day they forgot to do so, and it turned into a real ox, which attacked them and would not let anyone enter the shed where it stood. But they poured milk for it through a hole in the roof, and it became stone once more. It is worshipped as Basavanna. (p. 125.) The man finds the ox when worshipping the lingam, and its name, that of Shiva's bull, is

given. Thus no doubt is left as to its identity. Its horn is broken and it is wounded with a spear: this clearly means castration. The guilty man is punished by being turned upside down: this is a castration symbol, since by being turned upside down the phallus is made detumescent. Milk is poured through a hole for the ox every day, and while this continues it remains harmless: these details symbolise the return to the womb of the mother, the provider of milk. The two themes of lingam worship and yoni worship are thus combined.

48. A cow which would give no milk disappeared every day into the forest. One day its owner followed it and saw it pour its milk on to a stone image. He fetched a spade and tried to dig up the image, but he could not reach the bottom of it, and wherever the spade touched it, blood came forth. A shrine was built over the image, and it is worshipped as Mahalinga. (p. 126.) The image is given the name of Shiva in the linga form. It is cut so that blood flows, and the mother figure, the cow, supplies it with milk. Finally it is enclosed in a shrine. These events represent castration and the return to the womb. The legends of many Shaiva shrines include this story, with but slight variation. Its attractiveness at the conscious level is understandable: the dumb animal becomes aware of the presence of the god before humans do so. To the unconscious it presents an image of the lingam within the earth, i.e. the womb, and as Carstairs shows, the milk poured on to it is the semen. This is the image from which the idea of the soul in heaven originated.

49. The soldiers of the untouchable Madigas were asked to go to the help of a certain king of high caste. They did so, and on the first day they fought successfully. Then they went to sleep, and in the morning overslept. Their ally the king summoned them to breakfast, but the minister whom he sent with the message did not like untouchables and so did not wake them. The king became impatient, and he and his men had their breakfast. When the Madigas arrived, they suspected that they had been left out of the meal because of their caste. The dispute became heated, and finally they all committed suicide. (Elmore, pp. 110-11.) This legend shows that the lowest castes share the narcissistic character,

at least as regards their sensitiveness to insult, and their liking for dramatic self-abnegation.

The prevailing theme of these legends of gods is self-abnegation. It is explicit in all except 41 and 43. In 45 the place of worship of the god contains the corpses of the 18 magicians. In 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, and 48 the object of worship is the male sex-organ. In 41, 45, 47, and 48, as in 38, the theme is the magical power of the permanent phallus.

Stories of Puranic derivation

Unlike the pure village goddess legends from Elmore, some of the legends from Whitehead, and some of those about gods from Elmore, derive in part from Puranic or similar sophisticated originals (31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 47, 48). Elmore gives fifteen more legends of a somewhat elaborate character deriving from the Puranas, which he believes embody attempts to reconcile the Hindu and Dravidian religions. Whether they support any such thesis, and whether there is such a thing as a Dravidian religion distinct from Hinduism, are not our concern, but it may be suggested that the contrast which he has in view is the contrast between the low caste practice of augmenting the common store of semen from external sources through religious prostitution and the like, and the orthodox practice of segregating the semen-pool of the caste from those of all other castes. Two legends, 60 and 61, like 38a above, appear to relate to this subject.

50. A hundred and one kings who ruled in a certain country propitiated Shiva and obtained the boons of invincibility and immortality. Their subjects complained of their tyranny, and Shiva saw his mistake, but could not undo it. Vishnu suggested a way out. The power of the kings depended on their wives' chastity. These wives had no children, and they went every day to bathe in a certain tank. Vishnu would appear beside the tank as a Rishi. The queens were bound to ask him how to get children, and he would advise them to embrace a certain tree, which would be Shiva in disguise. Thus, their chastity would be violated and their husbands' power would be destroyed. It happened so, and

Shiva killed the kings. The queens then brought forth girls, which became Shaktis, malevolent village goddesses. (Elmore, pp. 80-82.) The queens are childless, and their husbands' power depends on their chastity: this is a case, though slightly varied, of the magic power of the permanent phallus. The general theme of these legends, improper sex relations, suggesting the return to the womb, is also present.

51. A king who had sons desired a daughter, but for a long time failed to get one. He propitiated Shiva, and at last dreamed that Parvati had taken form as his daughter and would be found in a golden anthill nearby. He had the anthill dug out, and she was duly found in it, together with a golden lamp and other ritual objects. (p. 82.) The anthill is a phallus, and the fact that it is made of gold confirms this. The digging out is castration, and the result is that the mother goddess is found. Thus the ideas which lie behind so many of these stories are present here too.

52. In another version, Parvati appeared as a girl, the king pursued her, and she took refuge in an anthill. Efforts to dig her out were vain, until the king thrust his spear into the anthill. The spear pierced her head, and blood and brains flowed. The king and those with him fell in a swoon. Parvati now came forth as a great goddess, but showed no malice, and marked their foreheads with her blood. (p. 100.) Here the spear performs the acts of castration and of entry into the womb at the same time. The attitude of the goddess, and especially the blood as a sacred mark on the forehead, show that the entry into the womb is not a violation. This story suggests that the blood mark between the eyes may symbolise castration and the return to the womb. The swoon may represent the blissful state to which the mother-worshipper hopes to return.

53. At Madura every year the marriage of Minakshi and Chokkalingam (Shiva) is celebrated. But at a critical point in the ceremony someone sneezes. This is unlucky, and so the marriage is put off to another year. In a similar way, Minakshi's brother Algar is brought to attend the wedding, but he always comes late, and because they have not waited for him he refuses to cross the river, and after staying there

for a day or two goes home again. (pp. 83-84.) Both parts of the legend, the postponement of the marriage and the late arrival of the brother, appear to have the same meaning: the aversion to marriage, the preference for the fore-pleasure, and the power of the permanent phallus.

54. When it was suggested to Minakshi that she should marry, she replied that she would lead her army to fight the neighbouring kings and so find out who was destined to marry her. She conquered them all, and then defeated Indra, and finally marched on Kailasa and forced Narada to retreat. Then Shiva appeared. Immediately one of Minakshi's three breasts withered. She recognised this sign, which had been prophesied, and was ashamed and dropped her weapon, and accepted Shiva as her husband. (p. 85.) The third breast stands for the male sex-organ. Its withering stands for castration and her transformation from a man or amazon into a woman, and also for defeat and the loss of her virginity. Thus the two ruling ideas of these legends are fused: the magical power of the permanent phallus, or in this case the destruction of that power, and castration as the way to the transformation of a man into a woman, i.e. identification with the mother.

55. A king was at war with the Rakshasas. Narada came to him and said that he must either defeat them or acknowledge himself defeated. He asked who should lead his army, and Narada suggested the king's own daughter, Renuka. The king felt insulted, and led the attack himself, but was defeated and hid in a cave. Renuka then went to get permission from her husband, Jamadagni, to lead the army. She went carrying seven pots of rice and water on her head, and the power of her chastity was so great that all the pots boiled. Narada and Vishnu plotted to destroy her chastity. Narada appeared before her as a beggar, to whom she gave food, and then as an amusing child, at whom she laughed. Jamadagni, who was engaged in tapas, considered these actions wicked, and ordered his elder son to cut off her head. He refused and was cursed. Jamadagni then ordered Parashurama to cut off her head. He did so, and his sword flew up in the air. Parashurama cursed his hand for its wicked deed, and

the sword fell and cut off his hand. He then compelled his father to restore his mother's head and his own hand. His hand is now represented by a staff, and Renuka's head by a cobra's hood; these insignia are used in the worship of some village goddesses. Renuka then asked Jamadagni's permission to lead the army against the Rakshasas. He scoffed at her, but she told him to turn his back for a moment. When he looked at her again she was a Shakti, with a thousand hands, each bearing a thousand spikes, and on each spike a thousand bodies were impaled, and beside each body was a devil armed with a torch and a sword. Jamadagni fled in fear to the underworld, but she pulled him back by his tuft. She slew the Rakshasas, but from each drop of their blood that fell to the earth, 60,000 new Rakshasas were born. She solved this problem by getting her brother to catch their blood with his tongue. Thus the war was won. (pp. 86-90.) The defeat of the king and his hiding in a cave represent castration and the return to the womb. The power of Renuka's chastity is represented by an object which resembles the permanent phallus—the pile of seven pots one upon another on her head, all boiling. Narada's method of destroying her chastity, by begging food from the pots, confirms this interpretation. Parashurama's swordhand is appropriately commemorated by a phallic staff, and Renuka's head by a cobra's hood, which is a triangle with the apex downward, a common symbol for the female sex-organ. Thus Parashurama is castrated and Renuka is violated; this confirms the guess made in the chapter on Mythology that the severance of Renuka's head by Parashurama expresses the unconscious desire for incest of the mother-fixated son.

56. There is a variant of the last part of the previous story. When Renuka found that 60,000 Rakshasas sprang from each drop of their blood which fell to the ground, she asked Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva what to do. They replied that the Rakshasas must be induced to take to sexual reproduction; they would then cease to reproduce from drops of blood. The gods went as astrologers to the Rakshasas and offered to tell them how to get children. The Rakshasas agreed to embrace a tree by the tank. The gods took the

form of a tree; a Rakshasa embraced it, became a female, and conceived. A hundred more Rakshasas did likewise. The Rakshasa chiefs ordered that the children be thrown into a well, but the gods retrieved them and made the girls Shaktis. Only one of the children was a boy, and he helped Renuka to defeat the Rakshasas by catching their blood with his tongue. (pp. 91-92.) The power of the Rakshasas resides in their asexual method of reproduction, i.e. in the permanent phallus, and they are subdued by destroying it. By the same act they are castrated and transformed into women. Again, the two principal ideas of these legends are run together. In the chapter on Caste the suggestion is made that the meaning of the common taboo upon touching the ground is that the permanent phallus, the magic wand, must not touch the female earth, lest it become detumescent and lose its power. But this applies to "our" side; as applied to the enemy, the Rakshasas, touching the ground leads to reproduction and increased strength.

57. A Shakti fell in love with Vishnu and tried to entice him. He asked for her discus, and she gave it to him; henceforth it was his weapon. He also asked for her eye, and she gave it to him. As a result of these gifts she "lost one half her fat." Vishnu advised her to bathe in the sea to cool her passion, but before she could do so he drank up the sea. At this she became angry, so Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva were alarmed and took flight into the sky in a chariot. The Shakti found water in a cow's hoof-print and poured it over herself. Then, not finding Vishnu, she wept, saying that he had deceived her. The three gods now appeared above in the chariot, and Vishnu threw down the discus, which enabled her to fly up to them. But thereby she lost her power. Thus Vishnu was able to cut her into three pieces, which became Saraswati, Lakshmi, and Parvati; and the blood became a hundred and one Shaktis. (pp. 94-95.) Elmore puts the phrase "lost one half her fat" in inverted commas, apparently recognising that it is symbolic; presumably fat represents the power of chastity. The discus resembles the external soul, which, as is shown in the chapter on Caste, can be identified with the sex-organ. She uses it twice, once to please

him and once to fly up to him, each time losing half her power. He also deprives her of the sea, which usually stands for the womb, and of her eye, which in males is associated with power and the sex-organ. The story is obscure, but its main theme is evidently the power of chastity and its loss.

58. Seven kings who reigned at a certain place whipped and drove away the local Shakti. She came to them dressed as a tribal fortune-teller, but was detected and driven away again. She then disguised herself as Shiva, and wearing a lingam appeared before the eldest of the kings. Asked what she wanted, she demanded a rock in a desert place on which to plant a flower-garden. It was granted, and she ploughed it and made a garden. When flowers grew she took them to show the king, and eventually she induced him to come to her garden. Disguised as a parrot, she took the lynch-pins out of his chariot-wheels, and then she and all the other Shaktis seized him, bound him, and placed him on his chariot, which collapsed under him. She offered to release him if he would worship her, but he said that he would not do so even if he were impaled before her. Very well, she replied, that is your fate. An iron spike was brought, and the seven brothers threw themselves on it and were killed. (pp. 96-97.) Though the victor is the village goddess, her own weapons fail and she succeeds by using the male weapon, the lingam. Presumably, she ploughs the rock with it, and she compels the king to transfix himself on it, after she has rendered him powerless by removing the lynch-pins from his chariot-wheels, i.e. castrating him. But she succeeds in enticing him into her garden, her womb, and castrating him there. The two main themes of these stories thus occur again.

59. After the death of the kings in the previous legend, the eldest king's queen brought forth a son. When he was a boy his friends sneered at him as fatherless. He found out the truth from his mother, and set out to avenge his father. He came upon a Rishi and wished to ask him the way, but did not dare to speak first. He therefore placed two stones for a fireplace and his knee as the third stone, with a pot on them, lit a fire, and when it burned his knee, jerked it away, thus breaking the pot. By doing this twice

he attracted the attention of the Rishi, who spoke to him, and he was able to get the required information. When he came to the Shakti's house she was on the flat roof. He played a tune on his pipe, to which she danced, and finally she came down to where he was. "Here the story stops strangely by simply saying that the boy surrendered at once to Ankamma, and agreed to worship her." (p. 98.) In order to avenge his father the boy proposes to acquire the power of the permanent phallus, which he obtains from the Rishi by burning his knee, which represents sexual self-denial. He exercises its power upon the Shakti by using it as a flute. The folk-story theory would be that while he continues to play she must continue to dance and so is in his power. Elmore is probably right in supposing that the story does not end at this point, or that the account of his defeat by Ankamma has been omitted.

60. Matangi went to a toddy-drawer for some toddy. He took away her basket and cane and gave them to her groom, tied her to a tree, and beat her. She escaped and went to her brother. He had sixty bullock-loads of toddy. She held out a small nut-shell, into which he poured all his toddy, without filling it. He then went to some nearby trees, drew toddy from them, and filled the shell. Matangi blessed him and ordered that in every palm grove three trees should be left untapped for her. Disguised as a young woman, she went back to the first toddy-drawer and offered him cosmetics. He bought them, but when he applied them they caused disease. She appeared to him again and explained his trouble, and he became her devotee and was healed. (pp. 102-3.) The theme of this legend seems to be the conflict between the desire, expressed in sacred prostitution, to increase the communal store of semen by obtaining it from outside the community, and the horror of alien semen and the desire to protect the community against it. The Matangi is a sacred prostitute; in this legend toddy represents semen. The first brother refuses intercourse and denies her sacred function by taking away her stick and basket, which represent Adishesha, the cosmic snake, and the heavens (p. 100), and are her insignia. No doubt they represent the male and female

organs. The second brother grants her request. The three toddy trees are called after other goddesses also (p. 103); Thurston says they are called Basavi trees.⁴¹ Basavi is a general term for dedicated prostitute. The three trees probably represent the male sex-organ, as the number three often does; and the reservation of three trees in each grove for Matangi means that men should not refuse her intercourse. As is argued in the chapter on Caste, the ancient desire to obtain alien semen for the community is replaced in course of time by a dislike of alien semen, and this dislike is expressed characteristically in the Hindu pollution complex. It is striking that Matangi overcomes the resistance of the first brother by defeating his pollution complex: she gives him substances to apply to the skin which cause disease, and then cures him. This is just the sort of way in which the pollution complex manifests itself at the conscious level.

61. A Brahman beggar, a worshipper of one of the village goddesses, had six sons. The seventh son while still in the womb felt it disgraceful to worship village goddesses and vowed not to do so. In pursuance of his vow he left the womb through his mother's back and entered a gourd. The gourd grew north and south and then one day fell from the vine, rolled down the hill and struck his mother's feet. She hired a cart to take it home, and on cutting it open found her son. The house now became the colour of gold, and all rejoiced. The villagers decided to choose a king from among the Brahman's six sons. To avoid a quarrel, all the six hid in palm trees, and an elephant was given a garland with which to choose the king in the traditional manner. But the elephant passed by the six sons, went to the house and garlanded the seventh. He was therefore made king. He forbade the worship of any village goddess. The goddess hitherto worshipped was thrown into a muddy pit and trodden under by elephants. Two leeches helped her to escape. She went to her brother and sister. They created 360 diseases, which were placed in the brother's bag. The king fell sick of a carbuncle. His mother urged him to worship the goddess, but he refused, saying that she was the goddess of the Madigas. The goddess's

⁴¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV.307.

brother entered the village, placed a stone in the middle, and called it by his own name. He then released the diseases from the bag. People and cattle began to die. The goddess's sister appeared and demanded to be worshipped. The king yielded at last, and the goddess was worshipped. (pp. 103-6.) Though it does not refer directly to the acquisition or the dislike of alien semen, this legend is also about the pollution complex. This complex centres about semen, but at the conscious level it concerns saliva, the excreta and other bodily products, and objects which resemble them. In this legend the references to the pollution complex are the village goddess cult, the birth through the anus, the gourd, which symbolises faeces, the gold colour of the house, also a faeces symbol, the muddy pit, the crushing of the body under the elephants' feet, the leeches, the carbuncle, which produces pus and blood, and the bag of diseases. The youngest son is normally the most docile and would not be expected to reject the family religion; but he is also the most narcissistic and so most subject to the pollution complex, and therefore most likely to be opposed to the village goddess cult. It is shown in the chapter on the Anal Factor that though faeces is polluting, it is regarded with less horror than some other body products, while objects which symbolise it, such as gold, may be highly valued. Indeed, the child may be a faeces symbol. It is appropriate, therefore, that the youngest and normally best-loved child should be born through the anus and represented as a big gourd, and that at his advent the house should acquire the colour of gold. The conflict is straightforward and ends, as does that in the previous legend, in the defeat of the pollution complex.

62. Gangamma came down from heaven as a stream of water, and was then born on earth. The king tried to kill her, but she fled to the sky, and then to a cave named Amboji (lotus). Here 6,000 shepherds found her. One day, when the shepherds were worshipping Shiva, she spoilt the ceremonies. They began to whip her with ropes, but she turned into a stone image. They then used the ropes to whip each other. Ropes remain part of the sacred relics of the goddess. (pp. 107-8.) The lotus is a symbol of the female sex-organ, and it is here attached

as a name to a womb symbol, a cave. To spoil the worship of Shiva is probably to deprive the lingam of its chastity, while to become a stone image is to acquire the power of the chaste lingam.

63. Two kings fought a battle, and one fatally wounded the other. Scheming to kill the enemy's son too, he asked the dying man to think of the person he loved best, in the belief that that person would immediately present himself. But the dying king thought of the gods, who duly appeared. They asked the Shakti to guard him; she refused, so they drew a magic circle of string round him. The defeated king's son arrived, and by his prowess gained the victory. The Shakti fell in love with him and asked him to marry her. He declined, but she insisted, so he made what he thought was an impossible stipulation: if on his way home she could prevent him from crossing a certain river, he would marry her. When he came to the river, driving the captured cattle, she hid an ox and a heifer under a rock. Arriving at the other bank, he found that two animals were missing, and went back to find them. She now brought them out from under the rock, and demanded that he keep his promise. He did so, and he is often worshipped with her. (pp. 108-10.) The crossing of the river, which is the goal of his flight from the Shakti, probably has the same meaning as the opening of a dry path whereby the pursued cross a river, which flows again behind them and so stops their pursuer. This happened to the Children of Israel when fleeing from the Egyptians, and it happened to the ancestors of several castes mentioned by Thurston. It means reaching the mother's womb, an impregnable refuge, or heaven. The event is foreshadowed when the gods draw a magic circle round the hero's father. The Shakti retains her hold upon the hero by hiding two of his cattle under a rock. These are virgins of the two sexes and represent the hero and the Shakti. The image therefore is of seduction rather than castration. However, she is a goddess, and the image also has the secondary meaning of castration.

64. The last remaining of the puranic legends collected by Elmore is the story of the birth of Krishna, substantially as narrated in the Harivamsha. When the seventh child was in

the womb of Devakka, Krishna took its place and was born to her. When Kamsada came to kill him, Krishna asked his father to replace him by Papanooka, the newly born daughter of king Nandadu. When Kamsada tried to kill her, she flew up to heaven, and is now worshipped as Matangi. (pp. 98-100.) Thus the ruling theme of the entry into the womb is brought into this story by a departure from the original.

It may be felt that the interpretations put upon the legends and rituals mentioned above are arbitrary. If each were considered alone, it could be agreed that most of these interpretations have no great degree of cogency. There are exceptions, however. Even alone, the interpretations of the more elaborate stories, particularly 14, 15, 38, 39, 41, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 63, suggest themselves and have some plausibility. Taken together, and with what is otherwise known about goddess-worship and the buffalo ritual, these interpretations, involving a very few different but cognate ideas, reinforce each other and are very probably valid. It should be noticed that I have not selected those which lend themselves to this sort of treatment, but have given all the legends set forth in the two collections.

Caste legends

Some of the stories related about castes confirm the main conclusions of this chapter. Legends attribute the origins of many castes to sexual irregularities, either on the part of supernatural beings or of mortals. The Agamudaiyan, the Kallan, and the Maravan say that they are descended from three children of Indra and Ahalya, the wife of the Rishi Gautama.⁴² The Panjaram say that their ancestors were offspring of Krishna and the widows of the Iddayan (Tamil shepherds).⁴³ The Pichigunta of Andhra say that they derive from a lame Vellala who married out of caste.⁴⁴ The Sahavasi of Mysore claim to be descended from a Brahman who married a woman of low caste.⁴⁵ The Parava say that they come from a high-caste woman who married an Ezhava (Kerala untouchable).⁴⁶

⁴² Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, I.7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VI.71. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, VI.195.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VI.262. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, VI.155.

65. A legend quite in the vein of these village stories is told by the Gomalla, toddy-makers of Andhra. A woman carrying a pot of toddy passed near a Rishi, and the smell interrupted his tapas. He followed her home and asked her to marry him. She was married already, so they entered into a secret liaison, in consequence of which the town caught fire. When her husband came home she hid her lover in a toddy vat, but when her husband inspected the vat he found only a lingam. Since then the caste have worshipped the lingam.⁴⁷ Although in this instance worship is addressed to a male god, the Rishi may be said to lose his lingam and to vanish into the receptacle, the vat. Probably, therefore, the unconscious fantasy of castration and return to the womb is the inspiration of this legend also. (Cf. legend 39.)

66. Some of the caste legends include the folklore incident, referred to under 63 above, of the flight from a pursuer: when the pursued come to a river it parts and leaves a dry path for them, and when they have crossed it flows again and checks the pursuer. This story is told by the Kamma, the Kappiliyan, and the Morasu.⁴⁸ It probably means seeking refuge with the mother and entering her womb. This view is confirmed by the version of the story told by the Kapu. Their ancestor deceived Rama and had to leave Ayodhya with his family. On their way they came to a river which would have turned them to stone, so they went to a certain temple, where they worshipped Ganga, cut off the head of her idol, and took the head to the river bank. The water divided, and they crossed on dry ground.⁴⁹ Chinnamastaka cut off her own head and drank her own blood: we have interpreted this as symbolising the castration of the devotee and his return to her womb. Ganga's decapitation, in conjunction with the opening of a path across the river, seems to have the same meaning.

67. Clearer still are the legends of the Kunchitiga or Kunchati Vokkaligars of Mysore. Their tribe was fleeing south from a Muslim king who wanted the chief's daughter. A Kuruba shepherd offered to guide them across the Godavari, but stipulated that they should preserve his memory. He sacri-

⁴⁷ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, II.254.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, III.100; III.215; V.75.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, III.232-33.

ficed himself to the river goddess, and then a dry path opened for them.

68. An alternative version is that the chief's servant found a golden cradle with two children, who brought new youth and beauty to his wife, and the couple brought them up. When later the flight took place, the boy who had been found in the cradle offered his head as a sacrifice to the river goddess, on condition that the chief's daughter should be married to his corpse. The sacrifice was successful, and by the grace of Ishwara and Parvati he was brought back to life.⁵⁰ The sacrifice of the head to the river goddess, who then opens a path for them, is a fairly obvious symbol of castration in order to enter the womb, and the meaning is made plainer by the marriage of his corpse.

69. The Malayalis, a Tamil caste of North Arcot, claim descent from seven Vellalas of Kanchipuram. Some Vedars (tribesmen now of the North Karnatak area) once raided their ancestors' village and took away seven girls. Seven Vellalas set out in pursuit, with seven dogs, which in case of their death would return as evidence of the fact. They swam a river in flood, but the dogs turned back and went home. The villagers assumed that the men were dead, and performed their obsequies. The men went on, slew the enemy, and returned, only to find that, as officially dead, they were outcasted. They therefore went away and settled in their present area. They conduct ceremonies in honour of Kali to which neither outsiders nor their women are admitted. During the ceremonies the men may not see or speak to a woman. It is believed that in the course of the ceremonies they stir the boiling contents of a pot with their bare hands. They bury the dead.⁵¹ They punish an adulteress by letting the young men of the caste do as they please with her.⁵²

This legend has some resemblance to the others concerning the crossing of rivers, and probably its meaning is the same. Having crossed the river, i.e. entered the womb, they were dead, and their further actions took place after their next birth, i.e. as a new caste. The stirring of the boiling pot with the

⁵⁰ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, IV. 17-18.

⁵¹ *North Arcot Manual* (communicated).

⁵² Thurston, *Notes*, p. 421.

hand may symbolise self-castration and the return to the womb. The avoidance of women during the Kali ritual confirms this interpretation, and suggests a conflict between the devotion to the mother-goddess and the worldly attractions of the wife.

Crossroads

As in other cultures, crossroads are associated with evil powers. The *Katha Sarit Sagar* (ch. 28) gives a spell for summoning an evil spirit: the observances have to be performed at crossroads. Keith's references⁵³ show that in the early books crossroads were associated with Rudra. The eulogy of Rudra pronounced by Daksha⁵⁴ contains two references to crossroads, and the *Shatarudriya* calls him Lord of Paths. Professor Kosambi, however, finds from field exploration in Maharashtra that the deities whose temples or shrines are actually situated at crossroads are female.⁵⁵ In view of the similarity in form between the crossing of a river and the cross formed by two roads, it is likely that crossroads also symbolise the return to the womb, and that the sinister associations are due to the self-castration which this involves.

Finger amputation

70. The Morasu fled from their home at Kanchi because a Muslim king desired their chief's daughter. When they came to a river they prayed to the river god, who allowed them to pass but stopped their pursuers.⁵⁶ According to another version, a zamindar wanted the daughters of seven brothers of the caste, and they fled. When they came to the river, their daughters threw their earrings into it, and it allowed them to cross but drowned the zamindar.⁵⁷ These stories are in themselves less convincing, but they are of interest as associated with the custom of amputating the fingers formerly practised by this caste.

When the Morasu fled from Kanchi, they carried their caste god in a cart (*bandi*), and so he is called *Bandidevaru*. It is

⁵³ Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, pp. 145, 239, 322.

⁵⁴ *MBh.*, Shanti P. CCLXXX.

⁵⁵ Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, p. 82.

⁵⁶ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, IV. 228.

⁵⁷ Thurston, *Notes*, pp. 395-96.

to this god, also called Bhairavadevaru (Shiva), that the finger-sacrifice was offered. "As, by throwing earrings into a river the fugitives passed through it while the zamindar was drowned, the caste people insist on their women's ears being bored for earrings. And, in honour of the girls who cared more for the honour of their caste than for the distinction of marriage into a great family, the amputation of part of two fingers of women of the caste was instituted...When a grandchild is born in a family, the eldest son of the grandfather, with his wife, appears at the temple for the ceremony of boring the child's ear, and there the woman has the last two joints of the third and fourth fingers chopped off...whether the father of the first grandchild be the eldest son or not, it is the wife of the eldest son who has to undergo the mutilation. After this, when children are born to other sons, their wives in succession undergo the operation."⁵⁸

71. The legend about the rite relates that Shiva was fleeing from Bhasmasura, who had the power to turn anyone to ashes by touching his head. Shiva hid in the linga-shaped fruit of a plant in a Morasu's garden. Bhasmasura asked where Shiva was. The Morasu said he did not know, but pointed with his finger. Before the Rakshasa could burn Shiva, Mohini appeared. She exercised her arts of persuasion to make Bhasmasura dance, imitating her gestures. She touched her head, so he touched his head, and reduced himself to ashes. Shiva then wanted to punish the Morasu by cutting off the finger with which he had betrayed the god, but the man's wife offered two of her fingers in its place, and her offer was accepted.⁵⁹

It is safe to assume that the mutilation was associated with the birth rather than the ear-boring of the child. The custom evidently came down from a time when children belonged to the wider family rather than to their parents, so that it was not always the child's own mother who made the sacrifice; but the meaning was that the mother paid two fingers for the child. The legend shows that she suffered instead of her husband, and that the mutilation which he would otherwise have suffered

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

was associated with the fantasy of a dry path across a river, which then flowed again when it had been crossed, i.e. with castration and entering the womb. At the ceremony, the woman first carried a lighted rice-flour lamp on her head to the shrine of the goddess Patalamma. The lighted lamp on the head in other ceremonies represents the male sex-organ. She then went in procession with decorated carts to the shrine of Bandidevaru.⁶⁰ These facts suffice to make it probable that the wife's two fingers were amputated in place of her husband's genitals. It is a reasonable guess that the substitution was associated with the replacement of the mother-right by the father-right system.

Magic

Some of the magical practices recorded by Thurston appear to symbolise the return to the womb. The Panan of Tamilnad and Kerala practise exorcism. The rite includes the burial of the exorcist in the earth, the drawing of a lotus, which commonly represents the female sex-organ, and worship of the queen of the demons. In another rite performed with the same purpose, he lies on a bier pretending to be dead, with a plantain tree between his thighs, while a sheep at his head and a fowl at his feet are sacrificed.⁶¹ The symbolism of the former rite, at least, is clear. Men of this caste perform a ritual to transform themselves into animals, to enable them to commit murder with impunity, and so forth. The magician dresses in an unwashed cloth, seeks a certain plant and circumambulates it three times a day for ninety days, i.e. 270 times, the number of days in a pregnancy; he then buries the root of the plant in ashes in a cremation ground, and stands in water up to his mouth.⁶² All these actions, including perhaps the use of the unwashed cloth, symbolise rebirth, which involves a return to the womb.

Hook-swinging

In the nineteenth century a very large number of South Indian villages practised the hook-swinging rite. At this period the typical performance was as follows. A vertical

⁶⁰ Nanjundayya, *Mysore Tribes*, IV.243-44.

⁶¹ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI.36-38.

⁶² *Ibid.*, VI.39, 125-26.

pole, thirty or forty feet high, carried a pivoted horizontal pole of about the same length on the top. These were sometimes decorated with leaves and cloth. The devotee hung by iron hooks thrust through the flesh of the back and tied to one end of the cross-pole, while men holding ropes tied to the other end ran round, rotating him high in the air. Alternatively, a similar structure was mounted on a cart and carried round the temple. The hooks were sometimes inserted in other parts of the body, and there were also less painful variants. Sometimes the devotee would put on a beak and wings to resemble Garuda. Hook-swingers were expected to give no sign of pain or fear. They made martial gestures with weapons, or showered down flowers, or held a child in their arms. Thurston's sources speak of it as performed in commemoration of a sati, in expiation of an offence, in fulfilment of a vow, to obtain a favour, or as a thank-offering. They mention one instance of a woman performing the rite in thanksgiving for the birth of a grandson, but this was evidently unusual. The performers were normally of the low castes, but Brahmans are reported as co-operating; in this it resembles the other observances of the village cult. The rite was sometimes accompanied by animal sacrifices, and sometimes by fire-walking.⁶³ Wood says that hook-swinging was performed for Shiva.⁶⁴ Bhattacharya also says this.⁶⁵ At Jejuri, near Poona, it was done for Khandoba, who is identified with Shiva or his son Skanda.⁶⁶ Dubois, however, says that hook-swinging was done for Mariamma; and six of the ten reports, dated between 1780 and 1900, mentioned by Thurston, say that it was done for Kali or one of the village goddesses. He quotes Anantakrishna Iyer, who says that when Kali defeated Darika, she bit him in the back and drank his blood, and the rite commemorates this.

Tavernier, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, says that hooks were tied to trees, and the devotee hung on them till they tore through his flesh and he fell.⁶⁷ Dubois, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says that the

⁶³ Thurston, *Notes*, 498-99.

⁶⁴ Elmore, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes*, p. 369.

⁶⁶ Mate, *Temples*, p. 169.

⁶⁷ Thurston, *loc. cit.*

hooks were pulled up by a rope over a pulley,⁶⁸ so that there was no swinging. Mate says that the procedure at Jejuri was "to hang from a tall pole with a pointed hook thrust in the back." If what these three writers describe is the original form of hook-swinging, it seems likely that the idea was to imitate the act of birth. The painful penetration, stretching and tearing of the flesh, culminating in the fall of the body, resemble parturition. The swinging, apparently a later addition to the ceremony, seems to have been meant to resemble flying: sometimes the hook-swinger dressed as a bird. This may be interpreted as the psycho-analysts interpret flying in dreams, as representing the erection of the phallus: in the *Brihatkatha* (V.245-58) the artisan Vishvila makes a flying machine in the form of a cock, which he uses to fly from Banaras, where he works by day, to spend the night with his wife in Kaushambi. The hook-swinger's vertical pole, sometimes decorated with leaves, etc., may have the same significance. Indeed, the resemblance to the European Maypole dance, a fertility rite, is close, and the meaning is likely to be the same. This would explain the practice of placing a child in the hook-swinger's arms. The fire-walking, which sometimes accompanies it, is also said to be a fertility rite.

If this interpretation is correct, hook-swinging in its earlier form expresses one of the basic ideas of the village goddess cult, viz. identification with the mother, though in a way which is quite different from those hitherto noticed. It also expresses the desire for fertility, which is associated with the cult and may have been one of its original ideas. The later forms, in which hook-swinging imitates flight and may abandon the use of the hook, show a departure from the main theme of the cult.

Some Northern legends

The facts cited hitherto in this chapter concern mainly South India. I have not much material about the North, but there is no reason to doubt that the sort of interpretations suggested will be found applicable there. Crooke says: "Ajit Singh, when he recovered his capital Jodhpur, slew a

⁶⁸ Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, pp. 597-98.

buffalo at each of its five gates. Human sacrifice used to take place at Vikramaditya's gate at Ujjain, but now only the heads of buffaloes killed at the last Dasahra festival are buried there, those of the last year's victims being taken up. . . .

"As the Mother is a chthonic goddess it is the practice to bury the victim or portions of it in the earth. . . In some cases a pig is buried up to the neck at the entrance of the village and the cattle are driven over it until it is crushed to death, and rice stained with the blood of a sacrificial lamb is sprinkled over the head. . . The Raja of the Gautam sect of Rajputs, when he makes sacrifice to Durga, the Mother, has the heads of the victims buried deep in the ground. At the Kandh Meriah sacrifice to the Earth Mother the priest buried the portions to be offered to her in a hole in the ground, and he did this with his back turned and without looking, for it is dangerous to deal with Durga.

"... At Baroda blood offerings are still made to the Mother goddesses, but some Hindus who object to kill an animal simply lay before her shrine a live cock, one of whose legs has been cut off, or a goat whose ear has been pierced, and then the animal is allowed to escape, or they cut a pumpkin in lieu of a victim, or cut off the ear of an animal or scratch its body, and sprinkle the image with its blood."⁶⁹

Some of the observances mentioned here closely resemble those of the buffalo cult of the South. Russell says that hook-swinging was formerly practised in the Central Provinces.⁷⁰ Crooke also describes some rites and cites legends which are reminiscent of those considered earlier.

72. A ceremony for the exorcism of famine practised in Bombay is as follows. A day before the ceremony the people left their houses and camped at the gate of the village, where they set up a triumphal arch adorned with flowers, leaves, coconuts, red powder, and turmeric. The villagers advanced in procession to the arch. A hole was dug in the ground, and a sheep's head, a coconut, betelnuts, leaves, and flowers were buried in it. All worshipped the arch. The watchman then entered the arch, and all followed him, to the accom-

⁶⁹ Crooke, *Religion and Folklore*, pp. 99, 106.

⁷⁰ Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, IV.291.

paniment of music, cheering and clapping. They went to the temple and bowed to the god, and then went home. The blood of the sheep and fowls was offered to the village gods, and the flesh was eaten.⁷¹ It is not stated, but the context seems to imply that famine was personified as a female deity. If so, moving out of the village and then re-entering it through an arch, and burying a sheep's head and a coconut in the earth near it, probably symbolise entering her womb, which must be supposed to re-establish the relation of dutiful children with her.

73. Guga Pir, who is said to have lived in Bikaner in the twelfth century A.D., is worshipped as a snake king. He killed his two nephews and was condemned by his mother to follow them below. The earth objected that as he was a Hindu she could not receive him until he had been properly burnt. As he was anxious to visit his wife nightly, he was unwilling to be burnt, so he became a Muslim, and the earth, thus satisfied, opened and swallowed him and his horse alive. He is represented on horseback, with his mother trying to detain him as he descends to the infernal regions. He holds a staff, and over him two snakes meet, one being coiled round the staff. According to another version, his cousins tried to rob him of his kingdom, and he cut off their heads and presented them to his mother. She in anger ordered him to go where he had sent them. The rest of the story is as before. In the Muzaffarnagar district he is said to have jumped into a heap of cowdung and disappeared.⁷² He is identified with snakes, creatures which disappear into their holes in the earth, which is explicitly identified with the mother. Cutting off heads and presenting them to his mother, descent into the earth alive, his mother's attempt to detain him, and disappearing into the sacred dung of mother cow, all are variants on the theme of castration and return to the womb.

74. Tejaji, who lived in Marwar in the tenth century A.D., is a snake godling. He noticed that a Brahman's cow had a habit of pouring milk into a snake's hole. In order to save

⁷¹ Crooke, *Popular Religion*, p. 73.

⁷² Crooke, *Popular Religion*, pp. 133-34.

the Brahman from loss he agreed to supply milk to the snake every day. One day he was going to his father-in-law's house and forgot his promise, so the snake came and said that it must bite him. He asked permission to pay his visit, and the snake agreed. On the way he rescued the village cattle from robbers and was terribly wounded. When he presented himself to be bitten, the snake could find no place on his skin without a wound, and he had to put out his tongue. The snake bit it and he died. He is represented as a man on horseback, with drawn sword, and a snake biting his tongue. He protects against snakebite.⁷³ The snake's hole into which milk is poured is evidently the womb, and biting the tongue is castration. So far this legend fits the normal pattern. But castration here appears as a punishment, inflicted by the snake for the offence of going away to his wife. This suggests a conflict between the duty to the mother and to the wife. It will be recalled that in the previous story, Guga Pir desired to visit his wife and so refused to be burnt; this also may refer to the conflict between the ascetic ideal of devotion to the mother and the worldly attraction of the wife.

75. Baba Farid of Pakpattan, Montgomery district, had the "hidden hands," "a sort of magic bag which gave him anything he wished." "The Muhammadan Thags looked upon him as the founder of their system...He is believed to have been connected with the Assassins or disciples of the 'old man of the mountain.' Every devotee who contrives to get through the door of his mausoleum at the prescribed time of his feast, is assured of a free entrance into Paradise hereafter. The crowd is therefore immense and the pressure so great that serious accidents are not uncommon."⁷⁴ The connection with the Thugs suggests mother-goddess worship, and the passage through the door of the mausoleum at the prescribed time, as the sure way to Paradise, accords with the identification of heaven with the womb and the unconscious fantasy of returning to it. As the original magic wand and, no doubt, the original wishing tree are the permanent phallus, it is possible that the original cornucopia, widow's cruse, cow with

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁷⁴ Crooke, *Popular Religion*, pp. 135-36.

inexhaustible udders, etc., is the ever-productive womb. In this legend the two appear to be fused, since the magic bag is called the "hidden hand," an object with some resemblance to both rod and vessel.

76. Miran Sahib of Ajmer, Moradabad, and Bundi led the Sayyad army against the Raja of Tharwa and had his head carried off by a cannon ball. He did not mind this, and went on fighting. Then a woman in one of the Raja's villages said, "who is this fighting without his head?" At this the body said, "The Lord! The Lord!" and fell down dead calling out, "What! Are not these villages upside down yet?" Upon which every village in the Raja's territory was turned upside down and everyone was killed except a Brahman girl, the paramour of the Raja. Many ancient ruins are said to represent cities overturned, generally because the Raja seduced a Brahman girl.⁷⁵ In a fight in Khandesh, the Gavli prince engaged in personal conflict with the saint Sayyad Saadat Pir, and struck off his head. The headless body continued to fight and the Hindu army fled in panic. The trunk then snatched up the head and led his troops to a hill, where the earth opened and swallowed it. Malik Ambar was killed at Bahraich but wandered back to Bijnor a headless trunk on horseback, when the earth opened and received him and his horse.⁷⁶ The hero's head is cut off and the earth opens and swallows him: this is reminiscent of the theme of the Southern legends, castration and the return to the womb. The villages being turned upside down recalls the legends in which turning upside down seems to represent castration (*see* 38 and 47 above). The Raja seduces a Brahman girl, and as talion punishment it is appropriate, according to mediaeval ideas, that all his retainers should be symbolically castrated.

77. The Bhairava temple on the Langur peak owes its establishment to a cowherd having found on the spot a yellow stick, which on his attempting to cut it with an axe, poured out drops of blood. Frightened, the cowherd fled, but the god in his terrible form visited him at night and commanded him to set up a shrine there.⁷⁷ This is similar to legend 48.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

⁷⁷ Crooke, *Popular Religion*, p. 141.

above. The fact that the man is a cowherd suggests that originally it also included the incident of the cow supplying milk to the buried lingam. Variants of 48 are common in the South: it is interesting to find it in the North too.

78. Some of the tribes in what is now Madhya Pradesh and southern Uttar Pradesh worship Dulha Deo, the bridegroom god. He was killed by lightning when going in procession to fetch his bride, and he and his horse were turned to stone. Among some of the Gond tribes he is identified with the god of war. In Rewa and Sarguja, even Brahmans worship him, and his symbol is a battle-axe fastened to a tree. In Mirzapur he is the marriage-god. In the marriage season he is worshipped in the kitchen. When two or three children in the village are married together, a great offering is made—of a red goat and cakes—and to mark his benevolent character, the women are allowed a share of the meat. This ceremony is carried out not by a priest but by the eldest son of the family. Among the Ghasiyas, the songs to him lay stress on the nice dishes cooked for him. Among the Kharwars he is worshipped near the hearth when the bridal pair come home. A goat's head is cut off with an axe, with the invocation, "Take it, Dulha Deo!" When he is worshipped, the ashes of the fireplace are carefully removed by hand, no ashes being allowed to fall to the ground.⁷⁸ In the legend as related, there is no transgression to account for the bridegroom's death. Probably, therefore, the story expresses the fear of marriage, i.e. of the loss of semen. Being turned to stone may represent the feared effect of the loss of semen, or it may represent the permanent phallus, the result of avoiding marriage. These two ideas are opposed, but are probably both present. The friendly character of the god is emphasised, but an offering is made to him, presumably to avert the feared effects of marriage; thus, he seems to embody both characters. The offering is a goat's head, a standard equivalent of the sex-organ and the supposed receptacle of semen. It is possible that the preservation of the ashes and preventing them from falling to the ground represent the conservation of the semen. The phallus may be both magic wand and weapon;

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

thus, some represent him by a battle-axe on a tree and regard him as the god of war.

The worshippers of Dulha Deo are mainly tribesmen. If the interpretation of this legend is right, it conflicts with the suggestion put forward in the chapter on Caste, that in the tribal stage the predominant concern is to acquire semen, while at the upper caste stage the concern is to safeguard the semen and to protect it from contamination by foreign semen. These tribal people seem to have acquired the upper caste attitude.

79. Russell brackets together hook-swinging, tightrope walking by the acrobat caste, the Nats, and the rite of sliding down a rope, which was connected with fertility. He does not say why he associates them, but he may have been informed of a remembered connection. Nats, both male and female, are worshipped in some villages. In places where two sharp hill peaks are situated close together, the story is told that there was a Natni who performed before the king, and he promised that if she would walk a rope tied between the two peaks he would marry her. The rope was stretched across, but the queen was jealous and on the night before the performance cut the rope half through, so that when the Natni walked on it it broke and she was killed. She is therefore worshipped.⁷⁹ This legend recalls 40 above: a cut leading to a fall to death between two peaks or labiae represents castration and the return to the womb, and if the victim were a man there would be no reason to doubt this meaning. The story may be a romanticised account of the sacrifice of a man; in any event, the deity is female.

The events of this legend have parallels in two folk-stories from the Tamil Nad.⁸⁰ In both of these stories other details confirm the idea of mother-identification. In the first story the hero is born as a tortoise, or in a tortoise-shell; he remains, as it were, in the womb. Even when he leaves it he continues to disguise himself, and like Jones's narcissistic subjects who preferred the unostentatious exercise of power, he allows his brothers to take the credit for his brave deeds. He is

⁷⁹ Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, IV.289-90.

⁸⁰ Iyer, *Stories of King Madana Kama*, pp. 112, 267.

sent to a Himalayan mountain-top to fetch a bride for his father. He climbs by a rope to her palace. She makes advances but he rejects her, saying that she is for his father; this situation hints at the return to the mother's womb. He takes her down, and then returns to get his sword, which he has forgotten; perhaps a castration symbol. This time as he descends, his brothers break the rope, and he falls to his death. He is restored to life by his wives' devotion. (Another tortoise-prince of similar character occurs in the same collection of stories.⁸¹)

In the second story the hero has to rescue a heroine who has been abducted and imprisoned behind four successive bands of territory infested with wild animals; this is reminiscent of the womb symbolism referred to in the chapter on the Mother Fixation. After her rescue, she is again abducted by a monster, who takes her to Patala Loka, under the earth. The hero gets there through a hole in the ground, into which he descends by climbing down a chain. When he has rescued her and is climbing out, his treacherous friend cuts the chain, and he falls down the hole again. He finally saves himself by practising yoga.

80. Tightrope walking may have been an ordeal which took the place of a former sacrifice, giving the performer a chance of escape if he showed sufficient skill. This may be true of fire-walking, also said to be a fertility-rite, and of rope-sliding. Rope-sliding was the preserve of a hereditary performer called the Badi. Each Badi was supported by a number of villages. He made a rope, and tied it sloping from the top of a cliff to a point at some distance on the ground below. He tied sandbags to his feet to hold him upright, and sat on a wooden saddle, on which he slid down the rope. In former times, if he fell he was killed with swords. After the performance the villagers cut up the rope and hung the pieces in their huts, believing them to be good for the crops. The Badi's hair was used in the same way. As he conferred fertility on others' land he lost it himself, and it was believed that no seed he sowed would grow.⁸² Thus the Badi was believed to lose his fertility, which passed to the rope down which

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁸² Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, IV.290-91.

he slid, which may therefore be said to have castrated him. His fertility likewise passed to his hair when cut: hair-cutting may also stand for castration. Moreover, like the Natni he was killed if he fell from the rope. This rite thus resembles tightrope walking fairly closely, and may probably be given the same interpretation.

The facts given in this chapter are of interest as suggesting that the uneducated villagers who repeat these legends and perform these rites share the mother fixation, and probably, therefore, the narcissistic psychic structure, with the educated classes to whom most of the data of this study refer.

Chapter 12

B U D D H I S M

THE ACTIONS and teachings of the Buddha, as we have them in the earliest literature, conform closely to the narcissistic pattern.

Siddhartha was brought up in three palaces, one for each of the seasons, with beautiful gardens and 40,000 dancing girls, all carefully isolated from the world. It is the fantasy of a narcissist in a hedonistic mood: his luxuries, though fleshly, are for him alone and are enjoyed in a kind of desert island or mother's womb.

But at the first touch of outer reality the narcissist's normal character asserted itself. Either on the same day or on successive days he saw an old man, a diseased man, a corpse, and an ascetic. He did not weigh the pleasant in life against the unpleasant: all that formerly pleased him at once became distasteful, and he resolved to abandon the world.

His only son had been born that day. He received the news with the remark that an impediment, a fetter, had been born, and the child was named Rahula, fetter. The psychological realism of the story is questionable, but it expresses the central principle of his teaching with great force. Later, during his mission, he advised parents not to be attached to their children, since attachment brings misery.

Before the Great Renunciation took place the encounter with Kisa Gotami. From her palace roof she saw Siddhartha pass by in his chariot, and she sang aloud in praise of his good looks. He heard her, but drew the lesson that he must retire from the world at once. So he sent her a teacher's fee of a pearl necklace of great price. She interpreted it to mean that he had fallen in love with her, and was pleased; but he went his way unmoved.

His distaste for the world hardened when, that night, he saw his dancing girls asleep on the floor in ugly postures, showing their hideous nakedness, dribbling mucus and saliva. He decided to see his new-born son, and entered the bedroom. But then he reflected that if he were to disturb the infant his wife would wake up and prevent him from going, so he did not touch either of them. He departed without a word of consolation to his wife, or to his father, who had treated him with such indulgence. This event is called the Great Renunciation, but the force of the story is that it was not a renunciation, since he loathed the objects which he left; and he did not act in order to benefit the world, since it was only later, at the Enlightenment, that he realised that that was his duty.

The doctrine he taught he himself summed up as "misery and the ending of misery," or the Four Noble Truths. These are (1) the noble truth of misery: birth is misery, old age is misery, disease is misery, death is misery, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair are misery, to wish for what one cannot have is misery; in short, all the five attachment groups are misery. (2) The noble truth of the origin of misery: it is desire leading to rebirth, joining itself to pleasure and passion, and finding delight in every existence—desire, namely, for sensual pleasure, desire for permanent existence, desire for transitory existence. (3) The noble truth of the cessation of misery. It is the complete fading out and cessation of this desire, a giving up, a loosing hold, a relinquishment and a non-adhesion. (4) The noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of misery.

This is the Noble Eightfold Path: (1) *Right belief*: the knowledge of misery, the origin of misery, the cessation of misery, and the path leading to the cessation of misery. (2) *Right resolve*: to renounce sensual pleasures, to bear malice towards none, to harm no living creature. (3) *Right speech*: to abstain from falsehood, backbiting, harsh language, frivolous talk. (4) *Right behaviour*: to abstain from destroying life, from taking that which is not given, and from immorality. (5) *Right occupation*. (6) *Right effort*: to prevent the rise of evil qualities, to abandon existing evil qualities, to encourage

good qualities. (7) *Right contemplation*: observance of the body, sensations, mind and elements of being, ridding them of lust and grief. (8) *Right concentration*: progress through the four trances: (i) which is produced by isolation and characterised by joy and happiness; (ii) which is an interior tranquilisation and intentness of thought; (iii) which is indifferent, contemplative and happy; (iv) which has neither misery nor happiness, but is contemplation refined by indifference.

Thus the Four Noble Truths are (1) that life does not deserve libidinal attachment; (2) that misery is due to libidinal attachment to the things of life; (3) that misery can be brought to an end by withdrawing libidinal attachment; (4) that this can be done by following the eight paths, of which seven (all but the fifth), consist in the withdrawal of attachment from specified kinds of objects. The Four Noble Truths are a consistent and uncompromising enunciation of the narcissist's attitude towards the world.

Mr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya contends that Buddhism expresses disapproval of the moral corruption which attended the decline of the egalitarian tribe and the rise of private property and the establishment of the monarchical state. He believes that the Buddhist ethical system was inspired by the memory of the egalitarian tribal ethics and the Sangha re-established something like the atmosphere of the old tribal life, and this fact explains its success.¹

It would be difficult to sustain this thesis from the actual injunctions of the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path. Truths (1), (2), and (3) are concerned with life at the biological level; they scarcely refer to social life. Of the eight paths, the second clause of (2), the first, second, and third of (3), and the second of (4) refer to social life, and paths (5) and (6) can be interpreted to apply to social life, though they can also be interpreted otherwise. Paths (1), (7), and (8) have no relevance to social life. Social evils are not ignored, but they do not take the prominent place that this theory would require. The emphasis is on the misery of life as such, the attitude of the narcissist, not of the victim of injustice.

¹ Chattopadhyaya, *Lokayata*, ch. 7.

The other popular statements of the Buddhist doctrine, such as the Fire Sermon, convey the same idea. "The learned and noble disciple conceives an aversion for the eye...for the ear...for the nose...for the tongue...for the body...for the mind...And in conceiving this aversion he becomes divested of passion, and by the absence of passion he becomes free...and he knows that rebirth is exhausted...that he is no more for this world."

In order to cultivate aversion for the body, monks reflected on its anatomy, referred to as "the 32 parts of the body"; and the course of meditation included ten meditations on decomposing corpses. After giving an outline of anatomy, the *Visuddhi Magga* proceeds: "Through its nine apertures it is always discharging matter, like a ripe boil. Matter is secreted from the two eyes, wax from the ears, mucus from the nostrils, and from the mouth issue food, bile, phlegm, and blood, and from the two lower orifices of the body faeces and urine, while from the 99,000 pores of the skin an unclean sweat exudes, attracting black flies and other insects...It is on account of adventitious adornment that people fail to recognise the essential repulsiveness of their bodies, and that men find pleasure in women, and women in men."

Though the teaching thus discouraged attachment to the body, it also discouraged the interest in the body which extreme asceticism must tend to engender. The Buddha himself is said to have called his system the Middle Way, by which he meant that it avoided the extremes of worldliness and of asceticism. It was thus less completely narcissistic than Jainism or Yoga.

Buddhism also departed in other ways from what appears to have been the narcissistic norm of those times. Narcissism and the mother fixation tend to go together, but Buddhism in its early form shows little sign of the mother fixation, unless it be of the inverted type, the hostility to women, which it sometimes produces. The Buddha is depicted as a misogynist, as in his behaviour towards Kisa Gotami, and to his wife, and to Mahapajapati, who was his aunt and foster-mother. He allowed this old and devoted woman to enter the Sangha only after he had been subjected to long persua-

sion, and after he had imposed rigorous and humiliating conditions; and he concluded the discussion about her admission with the gloomy remark that if they had kept women out the Good Doctrine would have lasted a thousand years, but now that they have admitted women it will last only five hundred.

If the Buddha is a historical person, and his character is truly described by these sayings and stories, his attitude to women can be regarded as that of the narcissist who turns against all women, or against all women except his mother. An instance is Montaigne, who was markedly indifferent to his wife and his only surviving daughter. Similarly, Whitman was strongly fixated on his mother but feared all other women. Other instances are Spinoza and Leonardo da Vinci. These considerations support the view that the character ascribed to the Buddha is that of a real historical person. For, if his character is the invention of a school of philosophers, his misogyny is somewhat anomalous: it contrasts with the characters ascribed to Mahavira and Shankara, for example, whose doctrines were broadly similar to those of the Buddha.

The institutions of confession and of monasticism also testify to the exceptional character of the Buddhist mentality. According to Mr. Sukumar Dutt, confession was practised in the Sangha at quite an early, though not the earliest period, and was peculiar to them.² Confession has meaning only in a community. The Buddhist was the earliest of the ascetic denominations to establish a monastic life;³ and this points to a retreat from the extremes of narcissistic introversion. In the earliest period the Buddhist monk was allowed only one medicine, his own urine. This is clearly a narcissistic usage. Later, with the rise of monasticism, the rule was relaxed.⁴ From Dutt's discussion, it appears that the rule about urine applied to the ascetics of all denominations at that time. These ascetics lived solitary lives, and their rules, established by tradition, were observed irrespective of sect. The Buddhists at first observed the common rules, but gradually came to

² Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 103-4.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 117.

mark themselves off from the broader community of ascetics by relaxing the more extreme observances.

The most distinctive peculiarity of Buddhism, however, was that it maintained the doctrine of *anatta*, that there is no ego. Most authorities consider that *anatta* means both a denial of the empirical ego—in the fashion of Hume—and a denial of the transcendental ego, the *atman* of the Vedanta philosophy. Others, however, such as Coomaraswamy, maintain that it is only the empirical ego that is denied, and the existence of the transcendental ego is affirmed or at least implied.

Even in that case, however, there must always have been confusion on the matter. No doubt the libidinal cathexis on the ego is unconscious, and according to the psycho-analysts the unconscious never accepts the idea of its own death. The devout Buddhist who, at the level of intellectual conviction, accepted *anatta* would yet have imagined his conscious ego enjoying happiness, or at least the absence of misery, in *nirvana*, and his unconscious would have been little affected by his theoretical disbelief in a permanent soul. Nevertheless the disciple was discouraged from thinking about *nirvana*. The doctrines of *karma* and rebirth were accepted, and these imply an entity which can survive the body and be reborn in another; but it was definitely taught that this entity, if indeed it is to be called an entity, was not worthy of devotion, and the aim was to bring its career of rebirths to an end as soon as possible.

Early Buddhism was therefore narcissistic, but with a difference. It very emphatically taught detachment of the libido from all external objects, but it did not try to bring about attachment of the libido to any internal object. Doubtless such attachment to the internal object, the ego, took place, but probably to a lesser extent than under the influence of doctrines such as Advaita and Jainism, which no less than Buddhism teach detachment from the world, but complement it with a rigorous insistence on the supreme value of the *atman* or the *jiva*.

Probably, therefore, Buddhism cultivated a somewhat different personality type from Jainism and most sects of

Hinduism as we know them. It is manifestly less strenuous than Jainism. The Buddhist psyche seems to be truly represented by the images of the Buddha. Unlike the Jain statues, these suggest an absence of effort, whether of self-suppression or of aspiration.

The Buddha's life story presents a clear case of projective extroversion. From the Great Renunciation through his experiments in asceticism he progressed in narcissistic introversion. He achieved projective extroversion when he abandoned extreme asceticism, invented the Middle Way, and decided to preach it to the world; and he dramatised it by his declaration that he would not accept nirvana until every other human being had done so. His personality as illustrated in the stories about his later life, with its cool, detached, universal benevolence, conforms to the model which would be expected theoretically if the libido is completely cathected on the ego and then projected upon the world. I cause, he said, "the power of benevolence which fills my mind to extend over one quarter of the world, in the same way over the second quarter, over the third, over the fourth, above, below, across, on all sides, in all directions. Over the entire universe I send forth the power of benevolence which fills my spirit; the wide, the great, the immeasurable feeling which knows naught of hate, which doeth no evil."⁵ Whoever composed this passage was clearly a projective extrovert.

Following this model, early Buddhism appears to have been devised to cultivate projective extroversion. It is differentiated from other ascetic doctrines of the time by the profession of anatta, its less strenuously ascetic character, its early adoption of monasticism as opposed to a solitary life, and its discouragement of the mother fixation; and all these, in combination with its strongly emphasised distaste for the world, which discourages normal extroversion, probably tended to produce projective extroversion. Of these four features, the most important no doubt is anatta. It may be said that the Buddhist solution to the problem of attaining to projective extroversion was the doctrine of anatta.

⁵ qu. by Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 67.

The Buddha did not discover projective extroversion. It is recognised in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, which all authorities place earlier than Buddhism. But the Buddhists seem to have been the first to try systematically to cultivate and exploit it. The Jains made no such attempt, while the first solution to the problem propounded in the Hindu documents is the doctrine of nishkama karma, duty without attachment, of the *Gita*. Most authorities date the *Gita* considerably later than Buddhism. It may be assumed, therefore, that in this matter Buddhism showed the way, and Hinduism followed.

In peaceful conditions, at least, the projective extrovert is the most valuable kind of citizen. The success of Buddhism in cultivating this personality type may, it is suggested, be the secret of its great impact on India and the world and of its immense cultural achievements. To the occidental, these achievements have always presented a puzzle. The Buddhist doctrine inculcates a total contempt for this life and a marked lack of interest if not complete disbelief in any life to come; it is hard to imagine anything less inspiring; yet people embraced it by the million, and over a large part of Asia and for many centuries it promoted civilised living and produced great art. The cultural flowering of ancient India in the centuries before and after the Christian era was not wholly or even mainly a direct product of Buddhism, but it seems a reasonable hypothesis that this cultural flowering resulted from the adoption from Buddhism of the attitude which led to the occurrence in each generation of a large number of projective extroverts.

Chapter 13

JAINISM

FROM THE standpoint of this book the Jain sub-culture is a subject of special interest. Its obsession with non-violence and its marked addiction to asceticism appear at first sight to imply a personality type which is dominated by unconscious guilt and should therefore be regarded as punitive. However, the Jain psyche fails to show other characteristics of the punitive type, and if its asceticism and non-violence could be left out of account it would be classified without hesitation as an extreme form of the narcissistic psychic type.

At initiation Jain sadhus (monks) tear out some of their hair, and thereafter are expected to tear out all their hair every year or six months. They fast a great deal, sometimes for months together. They observe a large number of restraints on most of the activities of life; these, however, are for the most part not of a painful character, but symbolise retirement from the world. When a sadhu nears death, he normally hastens it by refraining from food and drink; this is said to be very painful. Laymen are expected to observe frequent short fasts, a daily period of meditation, and a number of restraints on food, travelling, earning, amusements, and the like. The taking of vows, normally of a restrictive or ascetic character, is encouraged. It is fairly common for laymen to hasten death by a total fast.

Jain sadhus sweep the path before them lest they crush insects, and for the same reason are forbidden to travel in vehicles or to ride on animals. They search their clothes twice a day for vermin, and remove any to a safe place. They do not eat after dark, for fear of killing living creatures. The sadhus of some orders wear a piece of cloth before the mouth to moderate disturbance of the air, which is regarded as a form of violence. Sadhus undertake to say "what is pleasant, wholesome and

true... Truth is untruth if it is not pleasant and wholesome."¹ (Some Hindu texts, however, lay down such qualifications on strict truthfulness.) There are of course many other observances of this kind. Jain laymen are subject to restraints which are only a little less rigorous. They may fight in defence of their country, but they may not plough the land lest they kill living creatures.

These rules against violence give the appearance of a reaction formation, suggesting a repressed impulse to violence. The ascetic practices, especially the pulling out of the hair, suggest self-castration, indicative of aggressive feelings against the father which have been turned against the self. The Jain scriptures, however, appear to give no support to this view. They show, on the contrary, an evolution of feeling parallel to that indicated in the Hindu documents, from early intimations of a punitive outlook to the later prevalence of the narcissistic outlook.

The nineteenth incarnation of the jiva, who was later to be born as Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara, was a Vasudeva (warrior king ruling half the earth) named Triprishtha. His father had married as his second wife his own daughter. Triprishtha and his elder half-brother, his mother's brother Achala, were devoted companions in arms, like Rama and Lakshmana, and Krishna and Balarama. (Indeed, Krishna and his elder half-brother Balarama were the ninth Vasudeva and Baladeva. Triprishtha is also called Vishnu, Hari, Janardana, Keshava, Madhava, Sarangapani, Sripati, all names of Vishnu; and his foreordained enemy, the Prativasudeva, is also called Prativishnu.) Ashvagriva, later to be reincarnated as Goshala, the enemy of Mahavira, was the contemporary Prativasudeva. An astrologer foretold the events of the story to Ashvagriva, but he persisted in his fatal course. As the overlord of Triprishtha's father, he ordered his vassal to kill a lion which was devastating the country. Instead of their father, Triprishtha and Achala insisted on undertaking the task. Alone and unarmed, Triprishtha approached the lion, seized its jaws in his bare hands, and tore it in

¹ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 234.

two. Ashvagriva declared war, and they fought a battle, which was finally decided by a personal combat. Ashvagriva hurled his discus at Triprishtha, who was hit on the chest and fell unconscious. He recovered quickly, and with the same discus cut off Ashvagriva's head, "for the Pratichakrins are killed by their own chakras." Each fight between Vasudeva and Prativasudeva ends in the same way. Triprishtha's father then abdicated in his favour, and he ascended the throne.² The story shows some resemblance to those mentioned in the chapter on Mythology and believed to derive from the ancient cult of the divine king. There is no need, however, to insist on this derivation; what is to be noticed here is the retirement of the father in favour of the victorious hero, which is characteristic of the narcissistic version of the Oedipus story and of the narcissistic family situation.

The birth story of Mahavira may have the same significance. He was conceived in the womb of Devananda, a Brahmani, but Indra sent an agent to transfer the embryo to the womb of Trishala, the wife of a Kshatriya, Siddhartha. This incident recalls the abnormal birth of the divine hero; the psycho-analytic view is that it is intended to diminish the hostility between father and son.

The Jain stories often show what seem to be attempts to diminish the hostility between father and son. After the birth of Ajitanatha, the second Tirthankara, all his father's enemies were conquered. Sambhava, the third Tirthankara, brought an end to plague and famine in his father's kingdom. Suviddhanatha, the ninth Tirthankara, brought peace to his warring family. When the seventeenth Tirthankara, Kunthunatha, was born, the power of his father's enemies was diminished. Vishvabhuti, the seventeenth incarnation of Mahavira's jiva, was the nephew of a king, who offered to abdicate in his favour. Pottila, the twenty-third incarnation of Mahavira, was a prince, whose father abdicated in his favour; and Pottila later placed the crown on his own son's head and retired from the world. The same is related of Nandana, the twenty-fifth incarnation. Before Mahavira was initiated, his elder brother

² Hemachandra, *Trishashti*, Vol. III, pp. 11-52.

Nanda offered him the throne. A prince named Meghakumara heard Mahavira preach and at once wished to renounce the world; his father, who loved him, placed him on the throne, but it was of no avail.

Despite his desire to take consecration, Mahavira would not do so while his parents were alive, as it would have displeased them. It is still the rule that a Jain must not take initiation as a sadhu without the permission of his relatives. It is emphasised that Mahavira himself, a number of his former incarnations, and Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthankara, were greatly loved by their parents and were happy in childhood. A story is told of an important early convert who did hate his father. Prince Kaushika prayed for his father's death, and at length put him in prison and usurped the throne. But his mother told him that, when he was born, whereas she had thrown him on a dungheap, his father had saved his life, fed him, brought him up, and tried to make him a perfect man. Kaushika repented, but his father could not bear to live and killed himself.

On the night when the future Tirthankara descends from heaven into his mother's womb, fourteen dreams "enter her mouth." The first three of these dreams concern a mighty elephant, white in colour and with a voice like thunder, a white bull shedding light all round, and a white lion with eyes like lightning and tongue shooting from its mouth, leaping down from the sky towards her. The fourth dream is of the Goddess Lakshmi, floating on the lotus lake, being bathed with water by two elephants. The seventh is of the sun, red in colour, its rays dispersing the evil-doers of the night. The eighth is of a golden pole, topped in some versions by a temple roof, and carrying a banner with auspicious signs and peacock's feathers. The eleventh is of the sea of milk. The fourteenth is of a fire, fed with ghee, the flames of which rise almost to the sky.³ When the mother of Rishabhadeva dreamed these dreams, the gods gave an interpretation. The bull meant that her son would lift up the chariot of dharma sunk in the mud of delusion, the elephant meant power, the lion courage, Lakshmi sovereignty, the sun the light of the world that he would

³ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 22-25.

create, the banner meant that he would found a line of teachers, the sea of milk that he would be inaccessible and accessible, and the fire that he would absorb the dignity of other dignitaries.⁴ Of the objects in the dreams mentioned here, six, the elephant, bull, lion, sun, flagstaff, and fire are of a phallic character, and the elephant and lion seem to represent the terrifying father. But these, and the bull, are white, a colour much used by the Jains to signify peace. The meaning seems to be that the father is exalted but unaggressive, as narcissistic fathers typically are. "Inaccessible and accessible" conveys the same idea. The fourth dream may also have a similar purport: the bathing of the goddess in water may signify impregnation otherwise than by the contact of a male, and this lessens the hostility between father and son.

The twenty-third Tirthankara, Parsvanatha, believed by some to be a historical figure and to have lived about 800 B.C., has associations with snake worship. His mother when pregnant dreamed of a black snake; he rescued a snake from death by fire; the snake god sheltered him with his hood. It is reasonable to associate this snake cult with phallic worship, and this view is confirmed by the tradition that the four vows for sadhus promulgated by Parsvanatha did not include the vow of chastity, and that this led to abuses, which Mahavira some two centuries later remedied by adding the vow of chastity to the code of discipline. These traditions suggest a movement of sexual self-restraint by the older generation, which again would lead to a lessening of the hostility between fathers and sons.

Those in whom aggressive feelings against the father are strongly repressed normally show their eternal tension in some way in their overt behaviour. Nothing of the kind is to be noticed among the Jains. Their sadhus are criticised as idle, but seldom as aggressive. Non-Jains have testified to their happy appearance and gentle behaviour. Jain laymen are predominantly business men and are generally prosperous, but few appear to gain their wealth by exceptional energy or enterprise. On the contrary, most of them are highly con-

⁴ Hemachandra, *Trishashti*, Vol. I, pp. 100-103.

servative. They are content with the traditional techniques of moneylending or commerce, and succeed by dint of exceptional thrift and close attention to business. They are extortionate—it is impossible to practise moneylending in any other way—but the record of the community in regard to crime is very good.

Other evidence also suggests that the Jain psyche is not of the punitive type. Thus, despite much emphasis on morality, the sense of sin does not obtrude itself. A number of stories are told about sudden resolves to take initiation as a sadhu, but few of these are said to have been prompted by repentance of sin. Typically, the worldly man suddenly realises that this life is worthless; that is, the libido which has hitherto been cathected on external objects has turned inwards. It is the conversion typical of the narcissist, not of the punitive.

Jambuswami took a vow of celibacy, but his parents compelled him to marry. He was married simultaneously to eight wives, with whom he received ninety-nine crores of rupees as dowry. On the night of the ceremony he was arguing with his wives on the respective merits of marriage and celibacy, when a robber-prince, Prabhava, broke into the house. Prabhava overheard the discussion, joined in, and was convinced of the superiority of celibacy; and both men forthwith took initiation. It is not said that even Prabhava repented of his sins, while Jambuswami apparently had no sins to repent of.

Shalibhadra had immense wealth and thirty-two wives. One day he was told that despite his wealth, the king was his superior. He forthwith realised the vanity of the world and resolved to take initiation. But then he took pity on his wives and decided to spend a day with each of them in order to console them. He had a sister, Subhadra, wife of a rich man named Dhana, who had seven other wives. Dhana made a joking remark to Subhadra that her brother could not be very serious about renunciation, or he would not delay it for thirty-two days. She replied in the same spirit, "Who are you to talk about renunciation?" He decided on the spot to renounce the world. He then went to his brother-in-law and pointed out his fault. Shalibhadra accepted his view, and the two went immediately to Mahavira to be initiated.

Shalibhadra's conversion was typically that of the narcissist: he could not bear the thought of a superior. Dhana's only fault was that he had made a joking criticism of another man: clearly his conversion was not due to a guilty conscience.

The Jain moral teaching says little about sin, guilt or repentance. It has an institution of confession, but apparently this is to minimise the repetition of wrong actions, not to induce repentance. A sin is not an offence against God, but an imprudence which harms only oneself.⁵ It is not repentance that destroys bad karma; that is achieved by good actions and suffering. Actions are classified into three kinds: bad, good, and pure. It is usually not practicable to pass straight from bad to pure. Good actions are first necessary to overcome the karma of bad actions. But, in their turn, these good actions cause some karma, which has to be overcome by pure actions, that is, restriction of action and tapas, which destroys all karma. There is presumably no question of repentance for good actions, the karma of which nevertheless has to be purged from the jiva.

In the course of their daily devotions, laymen repeat the twelve aids to prevent the inflow of karma. These include the reflections that (1) all is transient; (2) there is no shelter; (3) the cycle of rebirths is endless; (5) soul and body are distinct; (6) the body is made of filth. All these drive home the lesson that the world does not deserve attachment, which therefore should be withdrawn. The fourth reflection is that we enter and leave the world alone and shall expiate our karma alone—the libido should be cathected not on other souls or even on the Tirthankara, but on oneself. Jains are warned in many ways to avoid attachment, "uniting body, mind and speech to worldly things." They are warned even against grief for the dead. "Those attain salvation who concentrate in the soul with practice of equanimity and enjoy true samadhi—true concentration with complete forgetting of the external world."⁶ Jains respect spiritual teachers and follow their guidance, but appear to do so with less emotional attachment than Hindus commonly direct

⁵ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 292.

⁶ Chauthmal, *Bhagwan Mahavir*, p. 546.

upon Gurus. Mahavira's last message was: "This world is an ocean of miseries, and it is not until a man is over-tired of living in it that he prepares himself for the attainment of everlasting bliss." He did not mention sin, repentance, or forgiveness, the categories of the punitive; he spoke only of the withdrawal of attachment from the world.

Thus Jainism mitigates the conflict between the father and the son in the same way as Hindu traditions do. As in Hindu practice also, the mother plays the bigger part in the child's upbringing and in the formation of the psyche. Stevenson remarks that the thought of India—she includes the Jains—"centres largely round marriage and motherhood."⁷

The legends tell us much about the 'Tirthankaras' mothers but far less about their fathers. Before the birth of the first, Rishabhadeva, his mother dreamed of a bull: hence his name. Similar stories are told about a majority of the Tirthankaras. Chauthmal, writing of Mahavira's birth, says, "The king was very happy... But Ah! the joy of Trishala!! Who can describe that?" It was his mother who persuaded Mahavira to marry.

The Jain attitude towards the Hindu deities is ambiguous: in principle they are repudiated, but in practice they are widely worshipped, at least for the purpose of gaining worldly benefits, and among them the goddesses appear to receive more attention than the gods. Lakshmi figures in the series of dreams foretelling the birth of a Tirthankara. Inscriptions bear witness to the worship of Durga, and to the propitiation of other goddesses, by Jains in past ages.⁸ Namadeva, the head of the Jain community in Bihar in the third century A.D., was waited on by four goddesses. Jains have family goddesses, and are specifically warned against evil thoughts about goddesses.⁹ Jain texts sometimes refer to nature as Mother, though this usage has no warrant in the official Jain philosophy. The mothers of two of the Tirthankaras bore the name Dharini, a name of the Earth Mother, as did the mothers of other important figures in Jain legend.

⁷ Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 26.

⁸ Seshagiri Rao, *Andhra Karnataka Jainism*, pp. 12, 16.

⁹ Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

The narcissistic ideal of sex conduct is complete continence, but lapses from the ideal are not regarded with such horror as by the puritanical type of punitive. This combination of the ascetic ideal with tolerance is the Jain attitude to sex, as suggested by the legends. Most of the Tirthankaras were married and enjoyed family life for long periods before initiation. They then performed tapas in order to wash away the karma so acquired. Thus the second Tirthankara, Ajitanatha, enjoyed royal happiness for seventy-one lakhs of purvas, and then effaced the resulting karma by tapas lasting for one lakh of purvas. In each case the period of tapas is only a fraction of the period of enjoyment. In most of his previous incarnations the jiva of Mahavira was married, and in some of them he was sexually very active. Presumably, he had to purge the karma thus acquired, though I have come across no specific instance; whereas the texts cite several specific sins of pride and violence on the part of his jiva, together with the particular suffering they caused in subsequent lives. In this matter, the Chakravartins behaved like typical kings. Thus Sagara, the second Chakravartin, had 64,000 women in his harem, and 60,000 sons. "His fatigue arising from the enjoyment of the women of his household was removed by the enjoyment of the woman-jewel."¹⁰

Jivakachintamani, one of the Tamil classics (tenth century A.D., according to Vaiyapuri Pillai), is the story of a Jain prince, Jivaka, whose father has been driven from the throne and killed. By his virtue and skill he wins the love of ten wives, one after another, the wooing of each being told in detail. Then he slays the usurper, reigns gloriously, and begets many sons. Finally, he and his wives retire, devote themselves to charitable works and tapas, and attain salvation. This sexual exuberance is quite in the vein of the Hindu romantic stories of the same era, and is hardly compatible with the punitive hostility to sex.

Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthankara, taught mankind the practical arts, seventy-two arts to men and sixty-four to women. Those taught to men include the arts of improving

¹⁰ Hemachandra, *Trishashti*, II, p. 166.

the complexion, keeping the hair black, removing wrinkles, and beautifying the body, while those taught to women include decorating themselves, dressing, and love-making.

These facts suggest that the Jain psyche at the unconscious level does not differ from the Hindu so much as might be supposed. Despite its austerity at the conscious level, the Jain psyche shows a weak development of the positive Oedipus complex, a tepid relation with the father, some degree of fixation upon the mother, and a repression of sexuality less intense than is normal in punitives. These are standard features of the narcissistic type.

But Jain asceticism does not appear to be of the kind commonly displayed by Hindus, which may be regarded as the equivalent of self-castration in order to identify with the mother. The asceticism practised by narcissists may be divided into two kinds. In one, the main unconscious motive is to achieve identification with the mother. In the other, the main unconscious motive is to win the favour of the father by suppression of the sex-function, i.e. to obtain a substitute for sex gratification, normally an indefinite prolongation of the fore-pleasure, or its equivalent, the power which is unconsciously associated with the permanent phallus. This produces a personality type which is isolated, self-dependent, and inclined to pride. The Jain personality appears to conform to this model.

One of the recognised categories of sin in the Jain system is attachment, even to good things. One of the nine minor faults in *sadhus* is forming a friendship. Devotion to the Tirthankara himself is discouraged. On his last day in the world Mahavira sent away his closest disciple, Gautama, and died alone. When Gautama returned he exclaimed: "Here nobody cares for another! All follow their own routes!" "These feelings of detachment," Chauthmal explains, "dissolved instantly his affectionate devotion to the Lord. As soon as the feeling of attachment disappeared from his heart, he attained Kevalapada."¹¹

The doctrine distinguishes fourteen stages in the progress of the soul. At the sixth stage, complete non-attachment

¹¹ Chauthmal, *Bhagwan Mahavir*, pp. 511-12.

is attained, but the aspirant is apt to be lazy—a characteristic fault of the narcissistic type. This is overcome at the seventh stage, when complete control over sleep, gossip, etc., is achieved, and the subject becomes “completely self-centred.” At the thirteenth stage, that of the Tirthankara, the jiva is freed from karma and attains omniscience. At the fourteenth stage, the jiva leaves the body and can assume any size and move anywhere at will.

Omniscience and these other powers correspond to the powers claimed by the yogis, and to the Advaita doctrine that on attaining self-realisation the soul grasps that it is identical with the universe. In all three disciplines these results occur in the later stages of a progressively more complete introversion of the libido. At this point the phenomenon here called projective extroversion is apt to occur, and the Jain documents take notice of it. “The soul reaches every part of the universe and is yet contained within the body.”¹² “Those souls that have attained pure knowledge, pure insight, infinite happiness and strength...preach the way to salvation to the world, and...the way they preach is entirely acceptable, is without any doubts and is most wholesome...”¹³ However, this happens only at the thirteenth stage, which, presumably, very few aspirants reach; and the subject is given no emphasis. The Jain system seems to make no effort to produce projective extroversion.

At the fourteenth stage, the jiva leaves the body. It “springs straight from the ground, like the sprout of a castor-seed” to the top of the universe, which is pictured as resembling a man’s body. The inside of the skull of the universe is the abode of the emancipated souls, and there they live for ever in inactive bliss.

Throughout the teaching, great emphasis is laid on the responsibility of the soul for its own salvation. The Kalpa Sutra describes Mahavira: “... like the firmament he wanted no support; nothing could soil him, like the leaf of a lotus; his senses were well protected like those of a tortoise; he was single and alone like the horn of a rhinoceros; he was

¹² Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 191.

¹³ Chauthmal, *op. cit.*, pp. 557-58.

free like a bird...difficult to attack like a lion; steady and firm like Mount Mandara..."¹⁴ When Indra offered to protect him, he replied that a Tirthankara must always obtain omniscience by his own unaided efforts, so he must attain liberation unprotected by anyone. The Acharanga Sutra says: "Man, thou art thine own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself?"¹⁵

Jains use the vow more than any other sect. By a vow a man usually binds himself to limit his attachments. He may vow to eat only between certain hours, or to confine his diet to certain items, or to limit his movements during a certain period to a stated distance or direction. By taking a series of such vows he gradually cuts down the possibilities for the cathexis of libido on external things, thus compelling it to turn inward. The Jains practise this method so much more than others presumably because of the special difficulty of their religious quest. They are not impelled or helped on their way to salvation by inward-directed aggression; nor do they allow themselves such aids as devotion to beloved gods, or even, at the higher level, devotion to the Tirthankara. The aid of the vow is therefore specially necessary. It is a device well-calculated to mobilise ego-libido for the purpose of the ego-ideal.

This concentration of libido upon the ego would be expected to engender pride, which would in turn help to mobilise libido. There are indications that this is so. Stevenson interprets the enormous numbers in the Jain legends and cosmology as an effort to go one better than the Hindus, who themselves delight in very large numbers. It is shown in the exaggeration in the legends, not only about time, but about the wealth and the number of wives of famous converts. It is shown in the severity of the Jain asceticism, and in particular the meticulous details they publish about the length and frequency of fasts, despite the injunction that fasts should be conducted in private. It is shown in the exaggerated emphasis on non-violence, in the repudiation of gods and the emphasis on obtaining salvation by one's own

¹⁴ qu. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

efforts. Modern educated Jains show it in their insistence on the antiquity of their doctrine and the superiority of its ethics.

Thus unregenerate human nature shows itself even among Jains. But the system is extraordinarily thorough and consistent in its devotion to the taming of all the passions and the concentration of all feeling inward. At the later stages this applies also to sex. When a certain spiritual progress has been attained, the layman is encouraged to take the vow of chastity, and to avoid making himself attractive to his wife. For the sadhu the ban upon sex activity is absolute, and a number of precautions against the seduction of sex are enforced. Thus the sadhu is forbidden to occupy a seat which he knows has previously been occupied by a woman. Once he has taken initiation, a man must never again see his wife.

The emphatic ban upon the sex-function and upon the weapon function of the phallus leaves only its function as magic wand, which is closely bound up with pride; and this seems to underlie the Jain imagery of salvation. The soul, on attaining freedom from karma, is said to spring straight up, like the castor plant or the arrow; and there is considerable emphasis on the magic power to change size and shape which it acquires. Jain statues, whether seated or standing, are always in very rigid postures, and those in temples are often placed in niches of phallic form. The colossal statues of Jain heroes, naked and stiffly erect, of which four, measuring from twenty to fifty-six feet in height, exist in South India, seem evidently to symbolise the phallus as magic wand. Zimmer expresses the idea in less analytical and more eloquent words when he writes of these statues that their "towering forms, carved in alabaster, point like arrows to the heavens... the most vivid expression in all art of the ideal of the world-negating, absolute refusal of life's lure."¹⁶

The Jain legends, discipline, and practice constitute a very pure expression of one form of the distinctive mentality of India, the narcissistic psyche, and the success which the Jain community achieves in its efforts to conform to its model

¹⁶ Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, p. 220.

is a matter of great interest. It is striking evidence that the libido, tied to the ego-ideal, but without help from a coercive super-ego, can impose, not only on a few specially gifted men, but on a whole community, a remarkably uniform and very high standard of conduct.

Chapter 14

VAISHNAVISM

THE COMPLETE narcissist will be a philosophical monist. In most cases, however, narcissism is not complete, and men can worship a God regarded as other than the self. Nevertheless, theism in a narcissistic culture will differ from that in a punitive culture.

The devotion of a male worshipper to a male god is treated in psycho-analytic theory as a manifestation of homosexual love. In the positive Oedipus phase, the boy has fantasies of castrating and killing his father. These are then repressed, and in the next phase the boy wards off his father's wrath by adopting the passive homosexual attitude, that of propitiation, submission, and self-punishment, archetypally by self-castration. Then he achieves consolation by transferring some of his love from his mother to his father.

This is the course considered typical for the punitive type. For the narcissist the development may be different, but dogmatism would be out of place. The apparent outcome, however, can be summed up in the seemingly contradictory statements that the earlier phase, the positive Oedipus phase, and its remnants in later life, have little importance, but the phenomena of the later, the negative Oedipus phase, that of submission, are prominent. The truth may be that all infants pass through these phases, but the strength of the resultant tendencies in later life is partially dependent on upbringing. If so, it is possible to understand the phenomena of Vaishnavism. The Shaiva traditions show traces of the positive Oedipus phase, together with strong evidence of the negative phase, while the Vaishnava traditions, except in one or two sects, lack the positive phase, and show a weak development of the self-punishing trend of the negative phase.

The son-devotee may fear the father-god, but this is normally obscured by love for him. Love for the mother normally remains strong, and even when directed upon the father-god, it retains something of the character of the son's love for the mother.

To the punitive, the archetypal sin is sexual rebellion against the father and love for the mother. These ideas are therefore repressed: the punitive's god is a father, but sexless, and no goddesses are tolerated. The narcissist has no such strong feeling against parental sexuality, and accordingly gods may be married, and there may be goddesses. The importance accorded in the punitive type of religion to sin, repentance, expiation, forgiveness, though these categories are recognised, has no parallel in the narcissist's religion.

Writing of the Maharashtrian Vaishnava poets, and of Kabir and Tagore, Macnicol says: "These poets' most frequently expressed desire is that they may rest upon the breast of God. They express this longing by means of a rich variety of comparisons, of which the most frequent and most touching is that of a child longing for its mother... Their longing has not the depth and urgency that characterise Hebrew poetry. The Hebrew cry is 'out of the depths.' They (the Marathi poets) can venture to say of those who love God, 'God is *their* debtor now.' Such an audacity is beyond the reach of the Hebrew and Christian penitents. If it is the case that a sense of sin is a morbid growth in men's experience, then these Indian saints have found a nearer and a directer way to God... God is often recognised by the Hebrew as the King over the whole earth, the Judge who will judge the world. These things belong to a conception of God completely different from that of the Hindu devotees."¹ The feeling towards God is tinged with the feeling towards the mother; and the fear of God and the sense of sin are less pronounced than in the punitive tradition.

Bhakti

There are, however, other differences. In both Vaishnavism and Shaivism, it is striking that *bhakti*, intense love of God,

¹ Macnicol, *Psalms of Maratha Saints*, pp. 26-29.

often accompanies avowals of the monistic doctrine, i.e. of the identity of the soul with God, and indeed with the universe. Here the worshipper transcends passive homosexual love and internalises God, identifying him with the ego-ideal. When this is achieved ~~the difference between~~ theism and monism vanishes. This would be expected, in fact: the true narcissist can worship only what he can identify with himself.

But though the bhakta identifies God with the ego-ideal, a difference is likely to remain. God is within and yet without. It is doubtless because of this lingering external reference that many bhaktas are projective extroverts. In fact bhakti is a method of producing projective extroversion, different from the other two methods noticed in this book, viz. the Buddhist method of stressing the doctrine of anatta, that there is no soul, and the method of the *Gita*, of inculcating nishkama karma, the principle of action without desire for the result. Historically, bhakti appears to have been the third of these to be evolved, or at least to be used on a large scale.

The *Gita* teaches both nishkama karma and bhakti. It says that the worshipper "enters into Me," "abides in Me," "attains Me," "realises Me," and intersperses these statements with assertions that the soul is identical with God. Anne-Marie Esnoul says: "Bhakti oscillates between monotheism and pantheism. The ideas of immanence and transcendence always overlap. A kind of substantial continuity between the Bhagavant (God) and the devotee makes their relation more like friendship than the 'compassion' of Buddhism. The bhakta has a sort of right to God's benevolence. In the *Bhagavat Purana* (IX.4.63-64), we find this definition: 'I am the servant of those who serve me...I do not desire bliss for myself unless I share it with my virtuous devotees.' The bhakta must serve the Bhagavant with zeal, love, submission and humility. God is identified with him who serves Him with the necessary perfection, 'For there is no distinction between Him and His zealous servant' (*Bhaktisutras*, 41)." She concludes with another quotation from the *Bhagavata* (III. 29. 11-14): "If they adore Me devotees will have the happiness of living in the same world with Me, of sharing

My greatness, of being in My presence, of having the same form, and of being one with Me.”² The psychological compatibility of monism and bhakti is illustrated by the celebrated Hindi poet Tulsidas, whose “spiritual leanings were for the non-dualism of Shankara”³ although he was a devotee of Rama. Perhaps the foremost figure in the mediaeval bhakti movement was Ramanuja. Dr. Radhakrishnan states his view thus: “The soul becomes through bhakti more and more vividly conscious of its relation to God, until at last it surrenders itself to God, who is the soul of its soul. Then there is no longer self-love or self-seeking, since God has taken the place of self...It is a case of ‘I yet not I’.”⁴ In the psycho-analytic view, the statement “God has taken the place of self” represents the situation accurately.

The Puranas

In the *Rigveda*, Vishnu has the characteristics of youth, vigour, speed, and impetuousness; in fact, he is almost the double of Indra. Unlike Indra’s, however, his character later undergoes a great change, and in the Puranas he is the mildest and most beneficent of the pantheon. Presumably, this change is due to the fusion of the Bhagavata, Pancharatra, and other religions which together formed later Vaishnavism. The Pancharatra documents quoted by Dasgupta⁵ set forth the pure monist doctrine.

In the Puranic mythology the principal attributes of Vishnu are those of the preserver, as opposed to the creator and the destroyer, of the universe. He is associated with the sattvaguna. He is the father of Kamadeva, the God of Love. He has as his consort Lakshmi, the most benevolent of the goddesses. The *Vishnu Purana* opens with a speech by Parashara: “When I heard that my father had been devoured by the Rakshasas sent by Vishwamitra, I was seized with rage...I set about disturbing the sacrifices of the Rakshasas and in that sacrifice reduced to ashes night-rangers by hundreds. On the Rakshasas undergoing exter-

² Renou et Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, I. 663-67.

³ Radhakrishnan, *Brahma Sutras*, p. 60.

⁴ Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II. 705.

⁵ Dasgupta, *History*, III., pp. 24-34.

mination, the pious Vashishtha, my grandfather, said, 'Do not indulge in excessive wrath, O child, control thy passion. Although the Rakshasas did this to thy father, yet they have not sinned... People do but reap their karma... The pious are made up of forgiveness.' Thus exhorted by my high-souled grandfather, I stopped the sacrifice." This is the tone of Vaishnavism.

On the other hand, the Avatars perform many violent deeds. Vamana is the embodiment of the phallus as weapon. He led the tyrant king Bali to promise him as much land as he could cover in three strides; he then assumed an enormous size, covered the earth and the heavens in two strides, and with a third leg which protruded from his navel, crushed Bali into the earth.⁶ However, he later became reconciled with Bali, and deputed for him in his underground kingdom for a third of the year.

Hiranyakashipu, the tyrannical father, tried in vain to compel his pious son Prahlada to worship him instead of Vishnu. You say Vishnu is omnipresent, he argued; is he present in this pillar? He struck the pillar with his club, and Vishnu in the form of Narasimha emerged from it, and with his claws tore out Hiranyakashipu's heart.⁷ The pillar conveys a hint of the phallic weapon, and the actions of both parties suggest castration. However, Narasimha appears only in this episode, and other versions of it moderate the conflict. In the *Harivamsha* the story is narrated in very brief outline, without mentioning Prahlada.⁸ In the *Vishnu Purana*, Prahlada prays for the removal of his father's sin; Vishnu grants his prayer, and father and son are reconciled. The killing of Hiranyakashipu is mentioned only in abstract terms.⁹ The principal centre of worship of Narasimha is Ahobalam in Andhra. The Avatara is there represented in nine forms, most of them aggressive.¹⁰ At one of the Narasimha temples at Ahobalam, worship of the Shakta type is offered; this may confirm our view that aggressive-

⁶ Mukerji, *Hindu Fasts and Feasts*, p. 99.

⁷ *Bhagavata P.*, VII. 8. 13-31.

⁸ *Harivamsha*, XLI. 40-78.

⁹ *Vishnu P.*, I. XX.

¹⁰ Ramesan, *Temples of Andhra*, pp. 26-31.

ness normally derives from identification with the terrible mother. Narasimha temples are almost confined to the South, and are common only in Andhra. Professor Ghurye points out that most of these were built under the Vijayanagar Empire, which was engaged throughout its existence in military conflict with the Muslim states.¹¹

Parashurama is most celebrated as the Brahman who killed the Haihaya king and his ten thousand sons, who had become a burden to the earth. They stole his father Jamadagni's cow, whereupon he slew the king. The sons cut off Jamadagni's head, and Parashurama cut off the heads of all the sons. He is then said to have killed the Kshatriyas twenty-one times over,¹² though I am not aware that details of this feat are ever given. The *Harivamsha* mentions him briefly, but does not say why he killed the Kshatriyas. He met Rama, and submitted to him without a fight, and he met the Pandavas and Kauravas on peaceful terms, but he had a fight with Bhishma in which they suffered equally. He raised the land of Kerala from the sea. The story about him which is perhaps most frequently related concerns cutting off his mother's head; as has been argued above, this legend presents him as the typical narcissistic son. He is recognised as an avatara, but is seldom if ever worshipped.

In its original form the story of Rama appears to be that of the son who kills his father and marries his mother, but no extant version preserves more than traces of these events. In his treatment of Sita he is the completely narcissistic husband, as in relation to Dasharatha he is the model narcissistic son. Though a warrior, he is worshipped rather as the ideal ruler. The original form of the story of the warrior Krishna who killed Kamsa appears to be the same, but as they survive, the story and the hero's character are quite different. Krishna takes part in many fights, but his reputation is due to his gift for stratagem rather than his strength or skill as a warrior.

Throughout the later history of Vaishnavism, Gopala Krishna has been the most popular object of worship. Here, interest has centred on two personalities: Krishna as a mischievous

¹¹ Ghurye, *Gods and Men*, p. 157.

¹² *Bhagavata P.*, IX. 15. 16-23. 19.

child in the household of Yashoda, and Krishna as a youth sporting with Radha and the Gopis. The former exemplifies the love of parents for children, and, as has been argued above, these stories have probably been an important influence in preserving Hindu narcissism. The story of the Gopis, read without esoteric interpretation, illustrates simple sex love.

Nevertheless, in the Epic and Puranic stories which are made familiar to all Vaishnavas, though much is toned down, the God does sternly punish sin, and, in some instances, the sinner is the father and the God is the son or takes his part. But, except in two sects, modern Vaishnavism seems to ignore this side of its traditions. This one-sided development is presumably due to the great emphasis Vaishnavism has always placed upon bhakti. Among the devout of the Vaishnava type, bhakti tends to produce projective extroversion, the complete domination of the psyche by love. The aggressive side of the tradition was thus neglected.

The Alvars

The spirit of early Vaishnava bhakti has been preserved in the popular devotional poetry of the Tamil Alvars (seventh century onwards). Though these poems refer to sin, the central concern of the punitive's prayer, the request is not for forgiveness but for release from sin, and the subject is not a principal theme. Together with it, there are prayers in the narcissistic vein for release from desire and from attachment to worldly objects.

I have killed this life; I will not again fall into suffering;

I have killed the illusion that attached me to life...

Within the core of my heart, the source of life,

Concentrating my thoughts, withdrawing my desire from the world,

I shall obtain Him. (Nammalwar).

The poets make free use of the imagery of sex-love:

When embracing me He does not allow Himself to be drawn away even by the fair arms of His eternally loving

Wife, the universal Mother. (Kurugaikaval Appan.)

Senapati is the Archangel and Premier Chamberlain to God...Unbid, he can enter the private chambers where the Lord and His Consort are in the full abandon of their love. (Bhattarya.)

Govindacharya gives the names of twenty-nine shrines in the Tamilnad, and tabulates the attributes which Nammalwar meditated on when he visited them. The attributes include: God as Father and Mother multiplied; love, as between parent and child, permitting familiarity; the love of the bridegroom for his bride; closest intimacy and abandon in delights of union.¹³

Writing of the early Tamil Vaishnavas, Dasgupta says: "Satakopa's ideal was to subdue our manhood by reference to God, to regard all beings as women dependent on Him. Satakopa conceived himself as a woman longing for her lover. . . Nammalwar described himself as a girl, loving Kannan's feet. . . Many of the Alvars play the role either of Yasoda (Krishna's foster-mother) or of the Gopis (the milkmaids) . . . In Nammalwar and Tirumangaialwar the attitude of the female lover to her beloved assumes overwhelming importance."¹⁴ In this form of bhakti the unconscious hostility of the male devotee to the male God is reduced to the minimum.

Ramanuja

In mediaeval times, Vaishnavism produced several sects, of which the best known are those founded by Ramanujacharya, Madhvacharya, Ramananda, Vallabhacharya and Chaitanya. Ramanuja (eleventh century A.D.), following a line of Vaishnava philosophers, drew inspiration from the bhakti tradition inaugurated four centuries before by the Alvars. But his great significance is due to the protest which he represented against the strongly monistic doctrine of Shankaracharya (eighth-ninth century). He considered that this philosophy tends to restrict sympathy with others and to restrict worldly activity. He tried to remedy the fault by differentiating, so far as the authoritative texts permitted, between the soul and God, and by cultivating man's love for God, which should lead on to love for one's fellow-men. He recognised the state of samadhi, in which the yogi or devotee achieves total introversion of the libido. But two types of samadhi are known: nirvikalpa and savikalpa. In the former, the ego is identified with a formless reality; in the latter, with "reality with form," or God. Traditionally the

¹³ Govindacharya, *Divine Wisdom*, pp. 25, 40, 211, 196; Nammalwar, pp. 45-48.

¹⁴ Dasgupta, *History*, III, 70-83.

formless experience was held to be superior—it is the ultimate achievement of the narcissist's characteristic striving. But Ramanuja took the opposite view. "For Ramanuja, mukti, release, is a state where the individual is freed from avidya, ignorance, and has the intuition of the Supreme. The state of kaivalya, aloneness, or realisation of one's own self as the Highest, is a lower form of emancipation."¹⁵

Bhakti is a means whereby the devotee may attain projective extroversion or jivanmukti. But he cannot do so unless he achieves a total libidinal cathexis on the ego, i.e. complete vairagya. Despite his emphasis on bhakti and his purpose in advocating it, it appears that Ramanuja himself did not attain to projective extroversion, and did not recognise that condition. "For Ramanuja there is no jivanmukti."¹⁶ Perhaps because of this, his purpose of promoting love for mankind was only partly fulfilled. His followers continued to observe caste restrictions, and indeed are still celebrated for their exclusiveness. Several of his successors, however, from Ramananda onwards, evidently were projective extroverts, and correspondingly preached universalistic doctrines. It is they who developed the tradition of social reform associated with Vaishnava bhakti, which remained powerful enough to influence Mahatma Gandhi, for example.

Dasgupta states Ramanuja's doctrine thus: "Brahman is identical with individual souls and yet different therefrom, in the sense that a character or part can be at once identical with and different from the substance or whole. Souls cannot stand by themselves, only as parts of Brahman. Their identity with Brahman is as primary as their difference. . . . The universe has come from Brahman, is maintained by Him and will return to Him."¹⁷ The philosophy is clearly of the narcissistic type, yet it stops short of the conclusion most characteristic of this psychic trend.

Ramanuja's followers uphold a doctrine of prapatti, total surrender to God, and some of them admit surrender to a father-substitute, a teacher, as a possible way to salvation. They do not worship Radha or Sita, but they do worship the more abstract Shri or Lakshmi. Indeed because of this they are

¹⁵ Radhakrishnan, *Brahma Sutras*, p. 56.

¹⁶ Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, 710.

¹⁷ Dasgupta, *History*, III, 194-95.

called Shrivaishnavas. The Vadagalai section of the Shrivaishnavas hold that Lakshmi is the equal of Vishnu, while the Tengalai section maintain that she is created by Vishnu and is only a mediator. This section practise branding of the body with the Vaishnava symbols, the conch shell and the discus, which probably represent the female sex-organ. This practice suggests the psychology of identification, as in goddess worship. Dr. Radhakrishnan quotes a Sanskrit saying: "The Supreme Lord is the only man; all others, from Brahma downward, are women, i.e. depend on him and long to be united with him."¹⁸

Ramananda and others

Ramananda (fourteenth century A.D.) admitted to his following all believers, without restriction of caste or sex, and he preached in the popular language. His method was to cultivate devotion to Rama and Sita. But his philosophy was that of Ramanuja, of whose sect he was a disciple. He composed songs, but only one has been preserved. It contains these lines:

(I) was proceeding to worship God in a temple,
When my Guru showed me God in my heart.
Wherever I go I find only water or stones,
But thou, O God, art equally contained in everything...
O true Guru, I am a sacrifice unto thee,
Who hast cast away all my perplexities and doubts.
Ramananda's Lord is the all-pervading God;
The Guru's word cutteth away millions of sins.¹⁹

The immanent God, the respect for the teacher, and the slight concern with sin, are all typically narcissistic.

Chaitanya (early sixteenth century) founded a sect or movement which is distinguished by effusive emotionalism. He himself danced, sang, wept, and fell unconscious. He acted in religious plays, taking the part of Rukmini, Krishna's wife. Although a sanyasi, he retained his affection for his mother, and at her wish gave up his plan to establish himself at Brinda-

¹⁸ Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, 707.

¹⁹ *Ramanand to Ram Tirath*, p. 11.

ban, where Krishna had sported with the Gopis, and instead lived at Puri to be nearer her. He met his death, it is said, when he imagined the waves of the sea at Puri to be the Gopis swimming in the Jamuna, and tried to join them and was drowned.

"We read," says Kennedy, "that Krishna was charmed by his own beauty, and desired to experience the supreme feelings that Radha felt for him. Thus, he took form in Chaitanya as himself and Radha combined. The germ of this idea is clearly found in the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*: 'Having assumed the feelings and beauty of Radhika, you have become incarnate in order to relish your own delight...Radha and Krishna are one soul in two bodies.' They delight each other by tasting love. The two of them are one Chaitanya. The two have become one in order to enjoy the supreme emotion.' Later writers developed this theme with delight."²⁰ This illuminating passage illustrates the tendency in narcissistic theism to identify with God, and to adopt the female attitude.

The sect distinguish five stages or types of bhakti: shanta, exclusive devotion; dasya, devotion plus service; to these sakhya adds comradeship; vatsalya adds tenderness; and madhura adds love. Chaitanya "taught that the best form of devotion was that which Radha, as the beloved mistress of Krishna, felt for him."²¹

Chaitanya's attitude on social questions is a matter of controversy, but the effect of his teaching "came near being a social revolution." "All men could find a place in common religious worship and be counted as equal in the attitude of devotion."²² The sect supplied a great stimulus to literature and art.

Vallabha was a contemporary of Chaitanya, but the sect founded by him became important mainly in Western India. Tod recorded his opinion that it had a good effect on the morals of Rajasthan, and it inspired literary and artistic activity. The philosophy derives from Ramanuja's, but Dasgupta describes it as "pure monism." "Brahman is both the material and instrumental cause of the world...it is the same Brahman

²⁰ Kennedy, *Chaitanya Movement*, p. 96.

²¹ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 469.

²² Kennedy, pp. 57, 82.

who is present in all his fullness in all objects of the world and in the selves."²³

A generally sympathetic account of the sect says that devotion to Gurus and excessively elaborate rituals have led to abuses. It quotes a seventeenth-century Sanskrit play: "... hear the excellent Vaishnava doctrine—the embracing and clasping with the arms the large-eyed damsels, good drinking and eating, making no distinction between your own and another's, offering one's self and life to the Guru, he is in the world the cause of salvation. Mutual dining, dalliance with women during night and day, and forming endless friendships—these are the surpassing beautiful doings of those who have consecrated their souls to Shri Gokulesha (Krishna)."²⁴ Bhandarkar says of the Vallabha sect: "Worship of Radha has given rise to a sect the members of which assume the garb of women with all their ordinary manners, and affect to be subject even to their monthly sickness."²⁵

Madhva

Madhvacharya (thirteenth century) made more emphatic Ramanuja's rejection of the doctrines of monism and illusion, and insisted on the eternally distinct nature of the individual soul. The following are the main points of his teaching of interest from the present standpoint, taken from Dr. B. N. K. Sharma's account.²⁶

The world is dependent on Brahman; the relation of dependence is the subject of much discussion (p. 32). The soul retains its individual consciousness even after liberation. Each soul is then fully satisfied, but all are not equal in bliss (p. 148). Realisation is a perception of Brahman "as the pivot of one's own reality, consciousness and bliss, with the utmost warmth of love." Thus, release does not bring bhakti to an end. The relation of the soul to Brahman is not extrinsic but is rooted in its very nature and being (pp. 92-93). The soul is a real agent, but its energy is derived from God (p. 119). At death there is no necessary severance of the soul from those elements

²³ Dasgupta, *History*, III, viii, 327, 329.

²⁴ *Ramanand to Ram Tirath*, p. 106.

²⁵ Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Shaivism*, p. 146.

²⁶ Sharma, *Madhva's Teaching*.

which constitute its bondage. Hence, the soul is subject to rebirth (p. 120). To free the soul from these elements it is necessary to cultivate detachment from the body and its desires (p. 121). Knowledge of the supreme reality is also necessary (p. 123), as also devotion (bhakti) and meditation (p. 125). For this, teachers are necessary (p. 126). The chief attribute of Brahman to be meditated upon is its infinitude or immanence in all things (p. 136). It is essential to meditate on the intrinsic dependence of the soul on God, for bondage is due to a false idea of independence (p. 138). The devotee's conception of God cannot be fully truthful, but he achieves moksha by God's grace (p. 139). God's grace may also intervene to shorten the period occupied in the attainment of moksha by "writing off" some portion of the devotee's karma (p. 141). After liberation the soul retains its individual consciousness. Indeed, liberation consists in regaining one's true nature (p. 144).

Though the doctrine teaches eternal damnation²⁷ it lays little stress on sin. Karma includes good and bad deeds, both of which bind the soul to the world, and God's grace may "write off" both. Salvation is attained by detachment of the libido from the things of this world and its cathexis upon God as immanent in all things, including the devotee. Salvation consists in self-realisation. Thus Madhva's doctrine does not abandon all the characteristic attitudes of the narcissist. Nevertheless, it stresses the plurality of souls and the difference of the soul from God more than any other Vaishnava sect. It is interesting then that this is the only Hindu sect that believes in eternal damnation, and that the members of the community are well known in South India for aggressiveness in both religious and secular matters.

Sankara Deva

Assamese Vaishnavism, introduced by Sankara Deva (late fifteenth century), also differs considerably from most other forms. He appears to have reacted against the Shaktism in which he was brought up. His teaching "marks a complete breaking away from the influence of the Mother or other gods... Radha is not acknowledged, nor any female complement....

²⁷ Sharma, *Philosophy*, p. 170.

The image of meditation prescribed is that of Narayan (Vishnu) who dwells in Vaikuntha and whose feet are worshipped by Mother Lakshmi...in a small poem by a follower, Radha is represented as an ascetic constantly reciting the name of Krishna, her body reduced to a skeleton and covered all over with dust...a protest against the varied Radha cults...Idol worship does not occupy any prominence...a sacred book (especially the *Bhagavata*) is placed on a pedestalled tray, and offerings and homage are paid to it as to the Lord... There are monks but no nuns. In the religious gatherings of men, women are not allowed...guru-worship, in the form in which it prevails in certain systems of Northern Vaishnavism, is remarkably absent...Sankara Deva once drove out a follower from his fold, because he secretly worshipped the goddess of small-pox when his son was ill. Madhva Deva (Sankara Deva's successor) also cast into the water from his boat a favourite disciple when the sky was overcast and the disciple called upon the god of rains to disperse the clouds. Interference with divine intention is revocation and absence of faith." Kakati emphasises the new vigour in secular life which this creed inspired. "Sankara Deva has given Assam a new life, letters and a state."²⁸

Kakati says that Sankara Deva's system was probably derived from that of Ramanuja and shows much resemblance to it. It is, however, less philosophical and more literary, Sankara Deva being a prolific and popular author. He even wrote and performed plays. In social matters, he seems to have been more suspicious of sex and hostile to women, but somewhat less caste-bound, than Ramanuja.

Mother identification

The predominant attitude in Vaishnavism, therefore, is the passive homosexual attitude to the father, tending strongly towards identification with the mother. In many cases, the assumption of the female attitude is conscious, and it has been widely recognised. In the *Gita* (IX, 17) Krishna calls himself "mother." Monier Williams, referring to Vishnu's assumption of the Mohini form, says, "By Saktas Vishnu is often held to

²⁸ Kakati, *Mother Goddess Kamakhya*, pp. 75-87.

be female.”²⁹ The *Mahanirvana Tantra* says that Vishnu has “rising breasts.”³⁰ Shri or Lakshmi is sometimes called the Shakti of Vishnu.³¹ The Shakti is a female emanation who performs the God’s practical activity: evidently the introjected mother. Bhattacharya says that in almost all modern Vaishnava shrines, an image of Radha is associated with that of Krishna, and that most Rama bhaktas in Northern India also worship Sita.³² The worship of a goddess encourages introjection and the assumption of female attitudes. There is, however, little evidence, such as is furnished by Shaivism and Shaktism, of identification with the mother through self-castration. In fact there is little evidence of fear or internal conflict. As contrasted with Shaivism, therefore, Vaishnavism tends to produce a less intense repression of the sex function, less guilt feeling, and weak aggressiveness. As a result of this comparative freedom from internalised aggression, many people brought up in the Vaishnava tradition deviate from the extreme narcissistic type. The Vaishnava communities include a high proportion of men of the world.

What is known about the lives of Ramananda, Kabir, Tulsidas, and Chaitanya suggests that they experienced projective extroversion. Ramananda was converted quite suddenly from the intellectual and caste-ridden doctrine of Ramanuja to a universalistic, egalitarian view. Kabir had the unitive vision, yet he repudiated the yogi’s isolation and asceticism, and upheld the values of life in the world. Tulsidas experienced a sudden conversion, it is said as a result of a rebuke from his wife, and he was remarkable for his sympathy for all men, even of humble station. Chaitanya, a scholar proud of his learning, was suddenly overwhelmed by religious enthusiasm and love for God and man. Projective extroversion is an identification of the ego with the universe and complete domination of the psyche by the libido. The result is love for everybody and everything equally. The fact that Vaishnava bhakti frequently led to projective extroversion

²⁹ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 65.

³⁰ *Mahanirvana Tantra*, V. 97.

³¹ Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, 659.

³² Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, pp. 432-33, 433-34.

explains the strong trend towards social reform, in particular the opposition to caste, which it engendered. In this it contrasts with the influence of Ramanuja, who appears not to have experienced projective extroversion. It also contrasts with Shaiva bhakti. The typical Shaiva psyche is more complex, and in particular tends towards fixation upon the aggressive mother, and therefore shows a distinct aggressive component. It is therefore less likely to develop projective extroversion.

Chapter 15

SH A I V I S M

THE REPRESENTATION of Shiva and Parvati in sculpture has been discussed from a psycho-analytic standpoint by R. Haldar. The Oedipus wish passes through several recognisable stages. In the first the male child takes a passive attitude towards the mother. This is represented by a child at Parvati's breast. Some stages later, the child has identified with the father and so loves the mother. It then comes to hate the father and cherish death-wishes towards him. This is represented by Mahishasuramardini, the mother goddess who kills the buffalo Mahisha, representing the hostile father. The desire to play the female part, arising from identification with the mother, is responsible for sculptures showing men offering their heads to goddesses.

After the phase of passive homosexuality in relation to the father comes a phase of active homosexuality, in which the father image may fuse with the mother image. This is the meaning of the Ardhanariswara concept, in which Shiva is the right and Parvati the left half of one body. Here Haldar cites the legend of the Rishi Bhringi, who vowed to worship Shiva, but not Parvati, by circumambulation. He did so by assuming the form of a beetle and piercing a hole through the bisexual body. This shows the active homosexual attitude to the father.

In this phase, when the father and mother images are fused, the son may castrate the father image, thus completing the identification of the two parents and also destroying a rival and satisfying hostility. But in addition to hostility, the son cherishes love for the father, and this leads to worship of the severed male organ. According to Haldar, this is the origin of phallic worship.

The hostile and loving attitudes to the father have as complement the wish for incest with the mother. The yoni is therefore added to the lingam. In sculpture the lingam usually projects outward from the yoni. The son worships and identifies with the lingam, and in this way the wish for Oedipus incest is fulfilled. Haldar regards the lingam projecting from the yoni as the perfect symbol of the Oedipus wish.

Shiva's daughter Mahamaya, Saraswati, or Bhattasali is sometimes shown behind the linga and yoni, suggesting a wish for incest with the sister.¹

Haldar's article was based on the work of the late Girindrasekhar Bose, which must be very instructive but is available only in Bengali. Haldar's account may be accepted as regards origins, but I venture to think that as regards current attitudes it needs supplementing. Thus the lingam is more than the phallus of the father. It is the ascetic life-model of the yogi, and the narcissistic psyche identifies it with the ego. In the chapter on Caste are cited folk-stories in which the external soul is a phallic object, ultimately, perhaps, identifiable with the semen. In the chapter on Yoga it is argued that the "centre" with which the ego is identified is not the navel but the sex-organ. The third eye of Shiva, and the third eye of Ganesha, and his third tusk and trunk, are symbols of the sex-organ and also of introversion. In many legends a man achieves salvation by entering into a pillar lingam. These indications all support the idea that in the narcissistic religion the lingam becomes a symbol of the ultimate object of worship, the ego. Similarly the Ardhanariswara image originated as a fusion of the father and mother images, but it is also a fusion of the ego and the mother image, though there are other ways in which this combination is represented. It probably owes its prominence in Hindu iconography to the strong urge to identify with the mother.

The destroyer

Like those of Vaishnavism, the early Shaiva myths give clear indications of punitive attitudes. At all stages of his

¹ R. Haldar, "The Oedipus Wish in Iconography," *Ind. J. Psychology* (1938).

history Shiva is markedly aggressive, and he is symbolised by the lingam. These characteristics seem to stamp him as an oppressive father-god. His devotees, too, show a personality type which has some resemblance to the punitive model. On the other hand, Shiva is the Great Yogi, who gives an impression of extreme remoteness from the world and highly developed narcissism, and these two sets of characters are hardly compatible. It is probable, therefore, that the aggressiveness of later Shaivism, if not of its earlier forms, is not punitive but derives from identification with the aggressive mother.

In the Vedic literature Rudra and Shiva appear as distinct figures, which later fuse into one. Though they show other characters, both are predominantly aggressive. Aggressiveness is archetypally a product of the Oedipus situation, in which the son attacks the father in order to possess the mother. Rudra is the aggressive son who castrates his father because Prajapati commits incest with his own daughter (*see* chapter on Mythology). There is reason to believe that this legend derives from an original which represents the Oedipus situation in its complete form. This legend appears to survive as a story (of which I have read only village versions) in which Brahma behaves improperly at the wedding of Shiva and Parvati, and Shiva cuts or bites off one of his heads. The severed head sticks to Shiva's hand, and he has to undergo penance to remove it — an interesting symbol of guilt.

In another of the ancient legends Shiva behaves very much like the son in revolt against his father. Daksha, his father-in-law, omitted to invite him to a sacrifice. Incited by his wife, or in some versions angered by her suicide, Shiva broke up the ceremony, cut off Daksha's head, put out the eyes of Bhava, tore out Bhrigu's beard, and knocked out Pushan's teeth. All these acts will pass as symbols of castration.

But in the larger number of Puranic legends Shiva behaves like the father who retains his virility and castrates his son as a rival. Parvati produced Ganesha from the dirt of her skin, and stationed him at her bathroom door to prevent anyone entering. He tried to obstruct Shiva, who cut off his head. In other legends, Krishna, or Parashurama, armed with Shiva's axe, attacked Ganesha, who out of filial piety refrained from

defending himself and allowed the axe to cut off one of his tusks. An enemy, Adi, entered Shiva's house in the form of a snake, and then assumed the appearance of Parvati in order to seduce and kill him. Shiva became suspicious, and struck Adi on the sex-organ and killed him.² Shiva was dallying with Parvati, and gave orders that nobody was to approach within a certain distance. Ila did so, and Shiva in wrath turned him into a woman.³

The Tamil legends

The legends of the Tamil Shaiva saints, the Nayanmars, of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., relate many violent incidents. Two of these represent the positive Oedipus situation, the son castrating the father.

Chandesvara tended his father's cows and used some of the milk for the worship of Shiva. His father resented the loss of the milk, came to the place of worship and struck the boy, who however took no notice. Then the father kicked over the pots of milk, thus obstructing his son's devotions. The boy took up his staff and struck his father's feet, but as he did so the staff changed into Shiva's axe, and the father fell maimed and dying. Shiva and Parvati appeared, and Shiva declared that henceforth he was the boy's father, and made him chief of his servants and took him to heaven. The father also was forgiven and taken to heaven.⁴ The enormity of the deed seems to have been recognised, but made ambivalently to redound to the sinner's credit. Manikkavachakar says that by Shiva's grace Chandesvara's sin was transformed into virtue.⁵ It is thus no doubt that this saint gained the pre-eminent position among the Nayanmars which he still enjoys.⁶

Sakkiya worshipped Shiva by throwing a stone at a certain linga every day. One day he was about to begin his meal without having done so, but at the last moment remembered his duty and hurried out to throw his customary stone. Shiva and Uma appeared and took him to heaven.⁷ Here the anta-

² *Matsya P.*, CLVI. 21-39.

³ *Ibid.*, XI. 43-47.

⁴ *Periyapurānam*, pp. 213-15.

⁵ *Tiruvachakam*, XV. 7.

⁶ Ghurye, *Gods and Men*, p. 46.

⁷ *Periyapurānam*, pp. 84-85.

gonism is removed by Shiva's assuming the attitude of the indulgent parent towards the naughty child. After narrating how the first stone was thrown at the lingam, the translator adds: "And our Lord was pleased at it, as the loving parent rewards with pleasure the silly sallies of their beloved little ones."

In the legend of Tinnan there is a suggestion of hostility to Shiva, though the devotee performs an evident symbolic self-castration. Tinnan washed a Shiva image by squirting water on it from his mouth, and offered it food which he had first tasted to see if it was properly cooked. One day an eye of the image bled. Tinnan took out his own eye and gave it to the image. Then the image's other eye bled. Tinnan was about to take out his other eye when Shiva stopped him, restored his sight, and made the devotee equal to himself.⁸ Though Tinnan was a member of a tribe, and so free from the Hindu pollution complex, those who narrate the story are Hindus, who would be horrified to see the lingam touched by food or water from the mouth. But Shiva showed the attitude of the indulgent parent and tolerated this impiety.

Viranminda took a vow that if his guests admitted that they came from the neighbouring town of Tiruvarur he would kill them with his axe. Shiva came in disguise, said he was from Tiruvarur, escaped from the house by a trick, and ran off pursued by the saint. At the moment Viranminda put one foot over the boundary of Tiruvarur, Shiva informed him of the fact, and Viranminda cut off his own foot.⁹ The same Viranminda took objection to the poet-saint Sundaramurti's self-indulgence. One day Viranminda was waiting outside the temple armed with an axe to kill anybody who was not in a proper state to enter. Sundaramurti came without bathing from his wife's bed. He gained entrance, but Viranminda was after him, and Shiva had to intervene and conceal Sundaramurti in the wall.¹⁰ In both legends Shiva shows the attitude of the indulgent parent towards naughty children.

This also appears in two other stories about Sundaramurti.

⁸ Narayana Aiyar, *Origin*, p. 162.

⁹ Jagadisa Ayyar, *South Indian Shrines*, p. 380.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.

When he married his second wife, the first left him. He won her over by praying to Shiva, who visited her and soothed her ruffled feelings. Again, he broke a promise to his second wife, and was struck blind, but he sang the praises of Shiva and was healed.¹¹ After this, it is not surprising to learn from Professor Ghurye that in some of the Tamilnad temples sculptures show Shiva and Parvati, sometimes with their children, in scenes representing "supreme domestic felicity." He remarks, rightly, that this is ironical, and "compensatory."¹²

In no other of the legends of the Nayanmars known to me is there any hint of hostility to Shiva, but symbolic self-castration is to be noticed in several of them. The linga in a certain temple was found to be standing aslant, and all the king's men could not make it upright. Kungiliakkalaiya tied a rope to the lingam and to his own neck, and thus succeeded in pulling it up straight.¹³ The self-strangulation symbolises self-castration.

Atipattar was a fisherman. His calling was sinful, but he redeemed it by throwing back into the sea the biggest fish in every catch. For a long time he caught only one fish a day, but each day he threw it back into the sea, and so was reduced to starvation. One day his net brought up an object made of gold and studded with precious stones. But it was of the shape of a fish, so he threw it back into the sea. Shiva appeared, and flowers rained from heaven.¹⁴ The symbolic self-castration is again quite clear.

The Shaiva saints severely punished others guilty even of inadvertent impiety. One of the Pallava kings, Kalarchinga, was visiting a temple. The queen picked up and smelt a flower that had fallen from a garland. The saint Seruttunai observed the act of sacrilege and cut off the queen's nose. The king, on being informed, cut off her hand. The onlookers acclaimed the deed, and the gods rained down flowers.¹⁵ Kotpuliyyandar bought a store of rice to be offered to Shiva. He was called away to the war, and told his family not to eat the rice. While he

¹¹ *Periyapurānam*, pp. 202-03.

¹² Ghurye, *Gods and Men*, pp. 48-49.

¹³ Narayana Aiyar, *Origin*, p. 143.

¹⁴ *Periyapurānam*, pp. 110-11.

¹⁵ *Periyapurānam*, pp. 126-27.

was away a famine came on, and they ate it. On his return he killed the whole family, including a baby. Shiva appointed him guardian of his world.¹⁶ Murkha gained money by gambling but used it to feed devotees of Shiva. When his opponents cheated he stabbed them dead. He attained salvation.¹⁷ Other saints cut out the tongues of blasphemers, or prayed that they should be struck blind.

Virashaivism

The hagiology of the Virashaiva or Lingayat sect of North Karnataka (twelfth century A.D.) is equally marked by aggressiveness, and the playful indulgence of Shiva is also pronounced. The founder of this sect was Basava. He was a reincarnation of Nandi, Shiva's bull, who on a previous occasion had been incarnated as the son of a devotee named Silada. Silada received the boon of a son like Shiva. He then asked: "I have another prayer. If there is anyone in the world who does not love Thy Golden Feet, I shall have his head cut off; and in that event Thou must not desert me. If Thou wouldst desert me, I do not wish to have a son, and Thou shalt take back Thy boon." Shiva granted this prayer also.¹⁸

In a similar way, at a critical time Basava was taken away to heaven, and a devotee named Machayya prayed to Shiva: "If Thou retainest Basava in heaven, Thou wilt prove false to Thy plighted word, besides causing great dissatisfaction among Thy devotees. Thou knowest well this humble devotee and his irascible temper. He is not likely to allow Thee peace until his prayer is granted." Shiva then sent Basava back to earth.¹⁹

Ekantada Ramayya, one of the saints of the sect, is described as "a terror to those of other faiths." Shankaradasimayya is described in the same words, and like Shiva he had a third eye, the phallic weapon. Kinnari Brahmayya cut off the head of an impious and lustful man in a temple. Nimmavva beat her own son to death for touching food she had cooked for Shiva.²⁰

In later life Basava was the chief minister of a Jain king, Bijjala. There are many stories of the religious conflicts

¹⁶ Narayana Aiyar, *Origin*, p. 196.

¹⁷ *Periyapuranam*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁸ Jayaram, *Sri Basaveswara*, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 80, 84, 91, 114.

between the two and among their supporters. The Jains challenged Ekantada Ramayya to prove the superiority of Shiva: they would cut off his head, and then if his life were restored they would leave the kingdom. He agreed; they cut off his head, and the next day it was again on his shoulders. But they refused to depart. Ekantada thereupon began to destroy Jain temples. The dispute was taken before the king. Ekantada repeated the miracle, but Bijjala contented himself with ordering the Jains to live at peace with the Shaivas. The breaking point came when the Virashaivas, who ignored caste, patronised a marriage between a Brahman and an Untouchable. Influenced by the orthodox Hindus, the king ordered the eyes of the couple to be put out. Basava's entreaties were in vain, and he withdrew from the kingdom with his followers, and soon afterwards died.²¹ The historical facts, however, are that Basava outlived Bijjala, whom he probably caused to be assassinated in order to usurp the throne. Basava declared in his work *Siddhanta-sikhamani* that those who decry Shiva should be killed.²²

These legends and facts are cited to illustrate the aggressive character of Shaivism in these periods, and the tendency of acts of aggression to take the form of symbolic castration. The impression the legends create, however, is not of a fear of God. It is possible that when the stories were first told they inspired fear, but by the time the current versions came to prevail, fear had vanished, and the feeling is that of a presumptuous child who knows how far he can go with an indulgent parent. This type of naughty child is one who has remained fixated in the stage of primary narcissism. Probably the replacement of fear by this attitude marks the eclipse of the positive Oedipus complex and the transition from the punitive to the narcissistic personality type.

The attitude of the spoilt child which appears in these legends passes into positive love for the father, which is also expressed in love for the lingam. A legend which is depicted in sculpture in the Madurai temple makes this plain. A couple were offered the alternatives of a son of bad character who

²¹ Ramaswami Ayyangar, *Studies in Jainism*, pp. 114, 132-34.

²² Dasgupta, *History*, V. p. 45.

would survive to perform their obsequies, and a virtuous son who would die before them. They chose the virtuous son. But when the time came for him to die, he clung to his father's penis so firmly that the God of Death could not take him, and he had to be allowed to live.²³ In another version, represented in sculpture in many temples, the boy clings to a pillar lingam, from which Shiva emerges to attack Yama. There are many legends in which devotees achieve salvation in the form of merging with a lingam. King Jalpa of Assam, fearing that certain calamitous happenings were due to his misdeeds, worshipped a lingam. A voice issuing from it assured him that he was not guilty. The king then asked for a boon, and was taken into the lingam.²⁴

The great yogi

Brahma wished for living creatures and asked Shiva to create them. Shiva agreed, and "plunged into the water and practised austerities for a long time." Becoming impatient, Brahma created another living being and told him to propagate his species, and he did so. Shiva then arose from the waters. Seeing these living creatures, he became angry, cut off his lingam and made it disappear into the earth. Brahma asked him why he did so, and Shiva replied angrily that somebody else having done the work of creation, his lingam would no longer serve any purpose. He then went away to do penances.²⁵ Shiva here takes the distinctively narcissistic attitude which is expressed in "sitting in dharna"—inflicting injury, upon oneself in order to be able to pity oneself.

In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kumara, Shiva shows the tendency towards sexual self-restraint in a somewhat different form. Shiva and Parvati were married and were about to procreate. The gods were afraid that the union of two such ascetics would produce offspring of very great power who would burn up the world. They therefore asked Shiva to refrain. He granted their request and "drew up his vital seed. From that time he passed by the name of Urdhvaretas (one who has drawn up the vital seed)." But

²³ Slater, *Dravidian Element*, p. 104.

²⁴ Kakati, *Mother Goddess*, p. 14.

²⁵ MBh., Sautika P., XVI, 10-16.

Parvati was angry and cursed the gods to be without sons. Though Shiva withheld his seed, a small quantity fell. Agni, who had not been present, and so escaped Parvati's curse, used the seed to produce Skanda.²⁶

In the legend of Ushanas, however, Parvati plays a part quite opposed to this. In many of these stories a man uses his yogic power to enter another's body. Ushanas, the teacher of the Asuras, acquired great power by yoga, and entered the body of Kuvera, the God of Wealth, robbing him of his liberty and his riches. Kuvera complained to Shiva, who became angry and raised his spear. Ushanas placed himself on the point of it. Shiva bent the spear so that Ushanas came into his hand, and swallowed the Rishi. Shiva then entered the water, and "remained there, like an immovable wooden stake, for millions of years." At last when his tapas was complete, he left the lake, and told Brahma that his ascetic effort had been successful. But then he found that Ushanas, who had also been practising tapas, had become stronger by acquiring Shiva's strength just as he had done at Kuvera's expense. Shiva therefore entered the water and began practising tapas again. Ushanas now became alarmed, but Shiva closed all the exits. Ushanas pleaded for mercy. Finally, Shiva told him to come out through the penis, and he did so. Shiva raised his spear to kill him, but Parvati intervened. Ushanas thus became her son, and Shiva smiled and let him go. Because of this incident, Ushanas was henceforth called Shukra, and he was unable to go to the centre of the sky.²⁷ (Shukra means semen, sexual power, and the power attained by tapas. It is not explained why he could not go to the centre of the sky. Is it because that is the other end of the world axis or penis? Elsewhere Shiva is said to be the navel of the universe.²⁸

This legend clearly shows the identification of the tapasvi with the permanent phallus. Shiva, "like an immovable wooden stake," was moreover in water, the equivalent of the womb. Ushanas placing himself on the point of the spear recalls the son clinging to his father's penis in the legend

²⁶ *MBh.*, Anushasana P., LXXXIV, 60; LXXXV, 86.

²⁷ *MBh.*, Shanti P., CCXC, 9-36.

²⁸ *MBh.*, Shanti P., CCLXXXV, 20.

cited above; and also the satyagrahi baring his breast to his opponent's weapon. The struggle between the two tapasvis recalls that between Brahma and Narada cited above. It is remarked there that the story represents in the most extreme way the modification undergone by the Oedipus theme in the narcissistic psyche. It may be significant, then, that in the course of this legend Ushanas emerges from Shiva's penis and thus becomes his son.

Krishna's account of Shiva confirms the identification of the tapasvi with the permanent phallus. "His lingam is fixed and immovable for all time. He is, for this reason, called Sthanu... Because his lingam always observes the vow of continence, therefore all the worlds adore it... The Rishis, the Gods, the Gandharvas, the Apsarases adore that lingam of his which is ever erect and upraised."²⁹ At Guddimallam, Nellore, is a celebrated image in the form of a realistic phallus, with Shiva standing within it. Two other images of similar character are known.

During the discourse just cited Krishna says, "...that god has two forms. One of these is terrible, and the other mild and auspicious.... That form of his which is mild and auspicious is said to be engaged in the practice of the vow of celibacy. That other form of his which is highly terrible performs all the destructive operations in the universe." However, the dichotomy is not so clear. It was when interrupted during yogic practice that Shiva slew Kama, the God of Love, with the glare from his third eye.³⁰ On the last day of the Kurukshetra War only three of the Kaurava heroes were left alive, and the Pandavas were rejoicing. Ashwatthaman, whose father Drona had been foully slain, vowed revenge. He prayed to Shiva. A golden fire altar appeared, and he entered the fire. Shiva granted his prayer and entered his body. He went to the camp at night and slew every hero except the five brothers and one other.³¹ Shiva in the form of a yogi visited Iyarpagai and asked the gift of his wife, together with a safe-conduct out of the town. Iyarpagai armed himself and escorted them through the streets, slaying his wife's relatives and others who

²⁹ *MBh.*, Anushasana, P., CLXI, 11-17.

³⁰ *Matsya P.*, CLIV, 249.

³¹ *MBh.*, Sauptika P., VII.13-14, 59-66.

tried to interfere. He was granted a vision of Shiva and Parvati, and entered heaven.³² According to a popular legend, the very origin of the chaste lingam form of Shiva is violent. Vishnu, Brahma, and other gods discovered him engaged in intercourse with his wife, and cursed him. He was drunk, but when he recovered his senses he died of shame, and was re-incarnated as the lingam.³³

The creative power

That story reminds us that Shiva is not always the great ascetic. In one of his characters he is the Lord of Dancing, and dancing represents the procreative function. Coomaraswamy, quoting Nallaswami Pillai, says that the circle or arch within which the celebrated bronze images represent him as dancing is matter, nature, Prakriti, while he is spirit, Purusha.³⁴ Prakriti is female and Purusha is male: the symbolism is plain. The *Bhagavata Purana* says that Shakti and Shiva are the womb and the seed of the universe.³⁵ Krishna describes him as dallying with the wives and daughters of the Rishis, naked, with erect lingam and excited look.³⁶ Daksha declares: "You are lust, you are semen...Gold is your semen."³⁷ After Mohini had given amrita to the Devas she vanished, and Shiva asked that she reappear; she did so, and he pursued her, shedding seed. "Wherever Shankara's seed fell, it became heaps of gold and silver."³⁸ Skanda, the offspring, fostered by Agni, of Shiva's seed, was golden in colour. "It was thus that gold came into existence as the offspring of the God of Fire. Hence it is that gold came to be regarded as the foremost of all things...The purifier among all purifying things, it is the most sacred of all sacred objects."³⁹ Thus, Shiva's semen is the "life-substance," which, however, is also obtained from corpses. Daksha says that Shiva is "fond of the ashes of funeral pyres" and "fond of the heart-flesh of all creatures."

³² *Periyapuranam*, pp. 16-22.

³³ Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, p. 629.

³⁴ Coomaraswamy, *Dance of Shiva*, p. 76.

³⁵ *Bhagavata P.*, IV.6.42.

³⁶ *MBh.*, Anushasana P., XIV.157.

³⁷ *MBh.*, Shanti P., CCLXXXV, 84, 93.

³⁸ *Bhagavata P.*, VIII.12.33.

³⁹ *MBh.*, Anushasana P., LXXXV, 72-85.

This association with graveyards remains an important facet of the composite character of the God.

Shiva, then, represents both ascetic self-restraint and sexual exuberance. It would be difficult to accept this paradox on the assumption that the Shaiva psychology is punitive. If the punitive devotee loves the embodiment of self-restraint, he will hate an embodiment of sexual activity. Self-restraint in the punitive is aggression by the super-ego against the ego. The narcissistic psyche, however, knows no such sharp conflict. In the narcissist, self-restraint is, no less than sexuality, an expression of the libido. He represents asceticism and sexuality by the same symbol, the lingam. In both situations, libido cathects on the semen. In asceticism, the semen is the ojas, the vital force which gives eternal life and supernatural powers. In sexual activity, the semen is the son, the most beloved, or gold, the most sacred object. Thus the apotheosis of asceticism and sexual expression in the same figure is possible only to the narcissist, and the fact that in Shiva both these characters are strongly expressed is convincing evidence that the Shaiva psychology is narcissistic.

Philosophy

This view is in full consonance with the marked inclination of the Shaiva philosophers towards monism, the distinctive narcissistic philosophy. There are three principal schools, that of Kashmir, that of the Tamilnad, and the Virashaiva school of Karnataka. "In Kashmir Shaivism the dominating idea is that the individual self is no other than the Lord Paramashiva himself with his powers limited. The object of the system is to make the individual self to discover, understand and experience his native state, the all-blissful, pure consciousness." The various disciplines taught to aspirants of different levels all end in the same way: "...the individual will be able to see the world with a higher vision and will get the samavesha (merging) of the supreme consciousness. He feels the objective universe as non-different from the Supreme Being and identifies himself with the Supreme Being."⁴⁰ This is the narcissist creed.

⁴⁰ J. Rudrappa in *Q.J.M.S.* (Bangalore, Jan.-April, 1955), pp. 162, 238.

It is sometimes said that the Tamil Shaivas diverge from pure monism in somewhat the same way as does the Ramanuja school. This does not appear at least in the *Sivagnana Botham* of Meykanda Deva, one of the classics of Tamil Shaivism. This work says: (Sutra 2) He is one with souls, but also different from them, and causes them to undergo evolution and involution through good and bad actions. (8) God appears as teacher to the soul which has advanced in virtue and knowledge; the soul, realising its true nature, and not being different from Him, becomes united to His Feet. (9) The soul, seeing God in itself, and knowing the world to be illusory, finds its rest in Him. (10) As God becomes one with the soul, so let the soul become one with Him and perceive all its actions to be His.⁴¹ Again it is the pure narcissistic philosophy.

Similarly with the third school. "Though the ultimate goal of the Virashaiva philosophy is 'merging of the soul in the Supreme', it begins with a belief in the distinctness of the soul from God. To efface this distinctness, the soul has to climb six steps... In the sixth step, called Aikya-Sthala, there is complete union and identification of the individual soul with Shiva."⁴²

Dasgupta devotes the fifth volume of his *History of Indian Philosophy* to the Shaiva teachers. The Agamas, authoritative treatises on theology and ritual, maintain that Shiva alone is ultimate reality, and the material cause of the world is his Shakti, which is identical with him (p. 40). Allama Prabhu, the teacher of Basava and one of the principal Virashaiva saints, was "thoroughly surcharged with the Vedantism of the Shankara school." The crux of Virashaivism is the doctrine of satsthala, that one must look upon oneself and the world as completely identified with God. Basava's *Siddhanta-sikhamani* is "ultra-monistic." Gorakshanatha sets forth similar views. (pp. 45-59.) Srikantha's view, however, is similar to that of Ramanuja. Souls and the world are parts of Shiva. (pp. 65-85.) The *Shiva Mahapurana* maintains that the highest reality, knowledge of which brings salvation, is pure consciousness, in which there is no difference between the self

⁴¹ tr. Nallaswami Pillai.

⁴² Nandimath, *Handbook*, pp. 96-97.

and the Brahman; its doctrine is "very much like the monistic system of Shankara," but it combines this with theism, "preceptor worship" and bhakti. (pp. 102-5.) These additions are no doubt inconsistent with monism, but they are characteristic of narcissism. The Vayaviya Samhita of this Mahapurana teaches a pluralistic doctrine: by practising detachment the soul can become equal to Shiva, but not identical with him. However, pure Vedantism is introduced "eclectically." (pp. 107-11.) In the *Tiruvachakam* the souls of men are female, and they become mystically identified with Shiva. (pp. 153-54.) Some have interpreted the *Tattva-prakasha* of Bhoja as an exposition of Shankara's monism, while others have tried to read dualism into it. (p. 166.) Sripati Pandit holds that God is in some aspects immanent and in others transcendent. (p. 185.) In short, the majority of expositions of the Shaiva philosophy show a completely narcissistic attitude.

The prominence given to sin and related ideas can be regarded as distinctive of the punitive type. The consciousness of sin is due to inward-directed aggression; the narcissistic psyche, which is relatively free from inward-directed aggression, is not greatly burdened with sin and does not attach much importance to it. Mr. Rudrappa's exposition of Kashmir Shaivism referred to above does not contain any of the words sin, repentance, forgiveness, or their equivalents. The word sin is frequently used in English translations of Shaiva texts, but it refers usually to an impurity, stain, or defect which can be removed by Shiva's grace; it is seldom presented as requiring repentance and forgiveness. Several of the philosophers mentioned by Dasgupta emphasise the doctrine of grace. Chandesvara sets forth the doctrine of impurity thus:

"All souls are from eternity fast bound in the chains of impurity. To destroy that impurity, and to give these souls infinite felicity and eternal release, He who is eternal is revealed. He performs the five Acts of creation, preservation, destruction, envelopment and gracious deliverance...He performs His gracious acts by putting forth the energy (Satti), Who, as a person, is one with Him, and is therefore the divine Mother of all, as He is the divine Father, and must, with Him, be loved and worshipped...Nor should we defer till tomorrow our dedi-

cation of ourselves, since we know not the day of our death. Therefore must we avail ourselves of Shiva's gift of grace..."⁴³ There is no mention of repentance or forgiveness.

Professor Zaehner says that among the schools of bhakti, that of the Tamil Shaivas is distinguished for its intense sense of personal guilt; he mentions especially Appar and Manikkavachakar.⁴⁴ Both show a strong feeling of unworthiness, but guilt is not so certain. Appar, the earliest (seventh century A.D.) of the Tamil Shaiva poets, had a mark on the skin resembling Shiva's bull. He wrote of Shiva's foot stamping it upon him. The phenomenon has been compared to the Christian devotee's stigmata, which are probably due to a strong sense of sin. But while the nail-marks emphasise, self-punishment, the image of the bull, on which Shiva rides, emphasises the relation of loving self-subordination to God. Appar's poems, so far as I have read them, do not express repentance or ask for forgiveness. As in the stanza which Zaehner quotes, he reproaches himself for foolishness in making the wrong choice: "Evil my innermost self, foolish, avoiding the pure." Appar also combines theism and monism in the characteristic way of the bhakta, and addresses Shiva: "Friend of the man of concentrated mind."

The *Tiruvachakam* of Manikkavachakar (ninth century A.D.) is the most highly esteemed of all this devotional poetry in Tamil. It is full of self-reproach, especially on account of succumbing to the attractions of women. But again, though the translator freely uses the word sin, its meaning is seldom that of the punitive's sin. What the poet regrets is his ignorant or foolish choice of lesser pleasures. "Tirumular says that tapasya is merely the fortitude needed to resist the attraction of perishable pleasures."⁴⁵ The following passage, however, is an exception, perhaps the solitary one:

...Forsake me not! If left, when asked
 "Whose serf art thou?" I'll tell them, "I'm the slave
 of all great slaves

⁴³ *Periyapuranam*, pp. 210-11.

⁴⁴ Zaehner, *Hinduism*, p. 173.

⁴⁵ Narayana Aiyar, *Origin*, p. 271.

Of the King of Utrakosamangai," and make them laugh at Thee!
 I'll make them laugh at my curs't life and have my serfdom for
 Isan (Shiva) proclaimed! Forsake me not! If left, I'll revile Thee!
 Whether I revile Thee or praise, I melt at my own faults,
 And repent! Forsake me not!...
 Thou didst make me Thine and pitying poor souls Thou didst eat
 Fiery poison, Thou privileged to consume nectar sweet.⁴⁶

The poet here shows repentance, and his conscience is touched by God's suffering on man's behalf. However, the spoilt child attitude may also be noticed.

The last lines of this passage are sometimes cited as evidence that Shiva's swallowing of the poison is of similar purport to the crucifixion of Christ. Christians hold that the crucifixion was intended to obtain God's forgiveness for the sins of men; in Shaiva theology, the swallowing of the poison was intended to save men from suffering. Nallaswami Pillai says: "He did not hate the poison and he drank it, and lo! it did not hurt him. This is to show that neither the good nor the evil of this world will affect anyone who has neither dislikes nor likes, i.e. taste for the fruits of action."⁴⁷ He gives a purely monistic interpretation to it. I have not come across a Shaiva author who makes the poison stand for sin or Shiva's act to concern forgiveness.

Shiva-Shakti

The Shaiva attitude towards goddesses is also markedly different from the punitive, which more or less vehemently repudiates any female element in deity. Under one or other name, Shiva's wife appears in most of the myths, and the more philosophical expositions maintain that he acts through his shakti, power, which is female and is often personified, and sometimes almost eclipses him. Apart from his female counterpart, Shiva has female characteristics. He is usually shown with the moon on his head, and some of his popular names refer to this; the moon is normally a female symbol. His playfully indulgent attitude to his devotees may also be female. Mr. K. Guru Dutt, a devout Hindu who is well

⁴⁶ *Tiruvachakam*, VI, 48-50.

⁴⁷ *Periyapuranam*, pp. 8-9.

acquainted with the psycho-analytic ideas, writes: "It appears to me that Hindus are born either Shaivas or Vaishnavas. I mean temperamentally, and not in the sectarian sense... When I came across the phrase in Bhartrihari's *Vairagya Shataka*: 'I make no difference in substance between Shiva, the Lord of the Universe, and Vishnu, its innermost self. But still my devotion is fixed on the One whose crest is the crescent moon', I felt he was giving out my own innermost thought. Not Shiva alone, but as associated with Shakti: Umamaheshwara. For me the fruitfulness of this idea has been inexhaustible... as also that line in the opening verse of *Malavikagnimitra* in which Shiva is described as the foremost of yatis (ascetics), although in continual union with his spouse, to whom he has given away half his body."⁴⁸ The reconciliation of these attitudes is possible only to the narcissistic psyche, and as Haldar's analysis suggests, it is achieved by self-castration, return to the mother's womb and identification with her. Ardhanarishwara symbolises this situation.

The partially female character of Shiva explains the other paradox mentioned above, viz. the coincidence of marked narcissism and marked aggressiveness. Shiva's wife is the benevolent Parvati, Uma or Gauri, but she is also the aggressive Durga, Kali or Bhavani.

In one form, Shiva haunts graveyards, performs magic rituals on corpses, and is associated with skulls. Probably the original purpose of these activities was to obtain "life-substance," i.e. semen, from the corpses and skulls, and, if so, it was a female function. The Thugs appear to have recognised it as such, and it is possible that others preserve the unconscious association. Monier-Williams says that at the present day, Shiva's terrible attributes are generally transferred to his feminine counterpart.⁴⁹ In the version of the legend of the birth of Skanda quoted above, it is Parvati who curses the gods to childlessness, i.e. castrates them. This attributes Shiva's aggressive function to his female component. The aggressive mother, Kali, castrates Shiva and dances on his corpse; here, the two figures are fused by the absorption of the castrated Shiva into

⁴⁸ Guru Dutt, *Retrospect*, pp. 271-72.

⁴⁹ Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 83.

Kali. In the chapter on Village Goddesses are cited a number of legends collected from South Indian villagers. Two of these, nos. (47) and (48), refer to Shaiva ideas, one to the linga and the other to the bull. Both express the desire for self-castration and the return to the womb.

The merging of Shiva devotees with the lingam, or its equivalent, such as fire, is sometimes indistinguishable from the return to the womb. After Manikkavachakar's conversion Shiva departed, while his 999 attendants remained for a time with the saint in a sacred grove. "Under the tree they set up a lingam, and worship night and day... One day as they were worshipping, a mystic flame blazed up in the centre of the tank, and they, casting themselves into it, disappeared."⁵⁰ Pope says that the incident is referred to in one of the hymns (xxxii, 5-7), where he speaks of resting in "true love's vast sea of bliss, that change (and) death knows not."⁵¹ Thus the flame which represents the lingam, and the sea which represents the womb, are scarcely to be distinguished.

It has been remarked in the chapter on Village Goddesses that, whereas in the early literature crossroads are associated with Rudra, the ancestor of the aggressive Shiva, Mr. Kosambi finds that the temples at country crossroads in Maharashtra are dedicated to goddesses. It is conjectured that crossroads symbolise castration and the return to the womb, and that this is the cause of their uncanny reputation. Thus again Shiva's sex appears to be indeterminate.

In the punitive psyche, aggression by the father is internalised and results in the self-persecuting type of conscience. In view of the antagonism between libido and aggression, in such a psyche much libido is normally directed towards external objects. Thus, the punitive is normally an extrovert. If, however, the unconscious regards the aggression of the higher power as proceeding from the mother, it will welcome this aggression, since it serves the unconscious purpose of identifying with her and returning to her womb. Thus internalised aggressiveness associated with the mother image does not engender unconscious guilt or a sense of sin. Nor does it lead to the

⁵⁰ Pope, *Tiruvachagam*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

outward direction of the libido. But this internalised aggression is regarded as castration by the mother, and therefore represses the sex function; hence the subject tends to be puritanical. Identification with the aggressive mother may, however, lead to markedly aggressive behaviour. This appears to furnish a satisfactory explanation of the combination of narcissism, asceticism, and aggressiveness characteristic of the Shaiva mythology and hagiology.

The legend cited above of Chandeswara Nayanmar, who killed his father with Shiva's axe, suggests that the aggressive behaviour of the Shaiva may be closely similar to that of the punitive. The evidence, however, is that punitive behaviour is not normal or even common among Shaivas. The chapter on Mythology assembles evidence of a general change from punitive to narcissistic at an early period. It may be that a parallel change took place among the Tamil Shaivas at a somewhat later period.

Aggressive narcissism

The mythology and hagiology of Shaivism are ascetic and also aggressive, and the combination is common among Shaivas in practical life. Shaiva rulers have been more inclined to persecution than those of other faiths. It is said that when Sambandar converted the king of Madurai to the Shaiva faith, 8,000 obstinate Jains were impaled. That was in the seventh century. In the sixteenth century Shantalinga, an official under Krishna Deva Raya, beheaded all the Jains in Srisailam as an offering to Shiva.⁵²

Among the linguistic groups, the Marathas are reputed for aggressiveness. Under the Maratha Empire the troops used as a war-cry two names of Shiva: Hara and Mahadeva. Shivaji, however, was a devotee of Bhavani, the aggressive mother-goddess. It was customary to equate the Maratha sword with Bhavani.⁵³ The people of North Karnataka include a large proportion of Virashaivas, and they also have a reputation for aggressiveness. The only people in South India who joined actively in the rebellion of 1857-58 were led by members of

⁵² K. R. Subramaniam, "The Origin of Saivism..." *Madras Univ. J.* (1929), p. 61.

⁵³ Savarkar, *Hindu-Pad-Padshahi*, p. 31.

former ruling families who were Virashaivas. One of these families were the rulers of Kittur, who thirty years earlier had rebelled against the East India Company. They had an army of several thousands, who paraded the streets of Kittur every morning shouting, "Let death be our lot tomorrow!" Their leader was the celebrated heroine Channamma. On the critical day she addressed them: "It is not to one's credit to fall into the hands of the white persons and be done to death. It is much better to enter a powder magazine and give up one's life." The historians record that her supporters were "roused by these inspiring words" and gave her unanimous support.⁵⁴ Their cry, and her proposal as to the method of committing suicide, support the view that the aggressiveness of Shaivism derives from the urge to self-castration and the return to the womb, and thus to identification with the aggressive mother.

The Shaivas also enjoy a certain reputation for puritanism. Bhattacharya says that the sects whose members practise severe austerities are predominantly Shaiva.⁵⁵ Some Protestant missionaries have been impressed by the similarity to their own personality type. Pope translated and wrote extensively on Tamil Shaivism and declared it "the most valuable of all the religions of India."⁵⁶ In North Karnataka, the centre of the Virashaiva movement, society has been strongly affected by the Shaiva spirit. In the twelfth and succeeding centuries, the movement produced a change which has commonly been compared to the Reformation in Europe. The Census Report of 1891 describes the Virashaivas as "intelligent, sober, industrious, thrifty and clannish...as tradesmen their place is in the van of Hindu society...To them as a body also belongs the credit of maintaining the strictest sobriety and non-alcoholism."⁵⁷

Ganesha

Shiva combines partially opposed characters: introversion and asceticism on the one hand, and on the other sexuality and aggressiveness. But the two images are distinct, except in so

⁵⁴ Krishna Rao and Halappa, *Freedom Struggle in Karnataka*, Vol. I, 149, 161.

⁵⁵ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes*, p. 405.

⁵⁶ qu. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 167.

⁵⁷ qu. Bhattacharya, p. 398.

far as the linga combines them. Shiva's son Ganesha, however, combines these two characters in one image. His trunk symbolises both the phallus and the inward-concentrated mind. His images sometimes show a third eye, and sometimes a third tusk,⁵⁸ but most commonly only one tusk. All three are phallic symbols, and the third eye represents introversion. In order to decide whether Ganesha or his brother Skanda should marry first, they were told to run a race round the world. Skanda set off round the world, but Ganesha circumambulated his parents, and was held to have won. This story also symbolises introversion.

Ganesha is the deity of the Ganapatyas, who were at one time a powerful sect. Their worship was of the orgiastic type. This sect conceived of his cakes or sweets as representing the germs of life. Ganesha is sometimes shown carrying a pomegranate, an emblem of fertility. In Nepal and Tibet his cakes or sweets are replaced by a chintamani, a magic jewel also representing the germs of life. One known Indian image carries this symbol, and the *Ganesha Purana* contains a legend in which he is symbolised by a chintamani.⁵⁹

Images in which Ganesha embraces his Shakti show her holding the bowl of cakes in her left hand, while he lifts one out with his trunk. This seems clearly to symbolise the sex act. Images which portray him alone almost always show him holding the bowl in his left hand and lifting a cake out of it with his trunk. This probably symbolises the direction of libido upon the self.

Getty says that Ganesha is the most widely worshipped of the Hindu deities. The elephant is of course an object of universal interest, but that hardly amounts to worship. Ganesha's popularity as a deity is probably due to the fact that he symbolises the outstanding features of the Hindu personality type: the dominance of libido and its cathexis upon the ego.

⁵⁸ Getty, *Ganesha*, pp. 15, 16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

Chapter 16

HINDU SOCIETY

THE ARGUMENT OF this book is that the outstanding peculiarities of the Hindu personality type can be accounted for on the assumption that it is distinguished by the related characteristics of narcissism, a mother fixation, and a weak repression of the infant's anal attachments. This unique and distinctive type was fixed at an early period. How it came to be so can only be guessed, but a plausible view is that the most important factor was the discovery of yoga. Yoga is peculiar to India. Other early cultures had practices which resemble it in some ways, but none appear to have pushed the effort to achieve total introversion so far as the ancient Hindus. The discovery was not merely of an imaginary world: it yielded tangible and valuable results, and was therefore such as to have a substantial and permanent effect on society. No doubt only a community in which narcissism was already prevalent could have discovered yoga, but this achievement, by making the yogi the ideal personality type, must have established once and for all the predominance of narcissism.

The discovery of yoga must have been made in the pre-Vedic period. Hence it is that in the later Vedic literature it is the eastern kings rather than the western Brahmans who expound the narcissistic philosophical doctrine of the identity of the atman and the brahman which has become distinctive of India. However, the two cultures eventually fused, and it is a reasonable assumption that in the new composite culture the special esteem accorded to the yogi contributed to preserve the high status which the priests had attained in the Vedic culture. The eventual outcome was the pre-eminence of the Brahman varna. The position of the Brahmans is itself an important peculiarity of the Hindu civilisation, and it must

have contributed greatly to the maintenance of the yogi-like personality, the narcissistic type, as favoured and typical.

The narcissistic community

A society composed of individuals who are chiefly of the narcissistic type will tend to differ in organisation and institutions from societies in which punitives predominate. A small proportion of citizens will be narcissists of the type in whom the libido cathects on the ego-ideal. Of these, some will be concerned only with spiritual matters, but some will cherish an ego-ideal of an out-going character. Some may be of the projective extrovert type; these will hold the highest ideals, and will be public-spirited, just, balanced; in short, the best type of citizens. They will differ from all but a few of the best type of punitives in that the punitive normally needs an enemy, whereas the projective extrovert and other high types of narcissist are benevolent towards everybody. The punitive is typically a nationalist, whereas the highest type of narcissist is a world citizen.

The majority, however, will be narcissists of the type in which the libido cathects less on the ego-ideal than on the ego. They will respect high ideals but will need little temptation to abandon them. In the majority of narcissists, the outward-oriented libido is weak; correspondingly, the attachment of the individual to the community, beyond the kinship group, is weak as compared to that of the punitive. A nation of narcissists will show weak patriotism and public spirit.

The attitudes of punitives and narcissists towards rulers differ appreciably. Both adopt the attitude of the son of the respective type to the father. The punitive's feelings will be relatively intense but ambivalent; he will be either strongly attached or hostile to the ruler, and in many people these feelings can replace each other quickly. This explains the political instability or the marked political polarisation of most punitive societies. On the other hand, the strong attachment to a common head enables punitives to form large political communities; in contrast to narcissists, whose attachment to a leader outside the kinship group is weak.

The narcissist maintains towards the leader the attitude of passive homosexuality. This attitude, however, permits of

variations. A minority may show intense devotion to a leader, as the shishya does to the guru. The "Garudas," the *corps d'élite* of the armies of ancient Karnataka, who vowed to commit suicide when the king died, are a well-known instance. The typical narcissist, however, though he hopes for benefits and tries to gain them by submission, will less readily undertake positive action for the ruler: he tends towards political indifference. But his allegiance seldom wavers so long as the ruler's power seems to be secure. The politics of a narcissistic society is likely therefore to be stable. There will be few changes of ruler initiated by popular movements, and relatively few by palace intrigues. The *Arthashastra* and the *Panchatantra* show an awareness of the likelihood of such intrigues; nevertheless, usurpation of the throne by a member of the ruling family was far less frequent in Hindu and Buddhist than in Indian Muslim dynasties. Though the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (ch. 28) makes a cynical remark that sons hanker after their fathers' kingdoms and "eat up their fathers like crabs," in fact, in not one of the stories in that (admittedly somewhat didactic) book does anything of the kind take place. In one story (ch. 25), a son tries to kill his father, but that is because when he was warming himself at a funeral pyre, a fragment of brain spattered into his mouth and turned him into a Rakshasa.

On the other hand, because of the weak attachment of the citizen to the ruler, Hindu states will be weak *vis-à-vis* other states or minorities of different mental type. It is a fact of history that Hindu rule is stable internally but weak in opposing attack from without. Hindu rule has often faced attack from without, but hitherto it has seldom, if ever, had to deal with an attempt at domination by an internal minority of a different psychic type, though such an event as the rise of Virashaivism, whose adherents are markedly more aggressive than other Hindus, may be considered in that light. In the past such a minority could only have organised itself on a theological basis. In modern times it could use a secular ideology for the purpose, and in this unaggressive population, with its marked parochialism and weak public spirit, an aggressive minority which could organise itself for domination would not need to be very numerous to achieve its aim.

The rarity, however, of events of the type of the Virashaiva movement under Basava against his Jain sovereign Bijjala is testimony to the general conservatism of Hindus. Narcissists, even of the aggressive minority, probably show little of the punitive's revolt against the heritage of his forefathers. This is true in matters of literary and artistic styles. India shows nothing comparable to the rapid changes of taste which distinguish the artistic history of the West, or the excessive depreciation of the work of the previous generation, often followed by a rehabilitation a generation later, which results from the hostility to the father. Protest against caste has been endemic since the Buddha's time, but, however it was voiced, it seems to have been heard predominantly in the spirit which Vivekananda, for example, so clearly gave it: not an aggressive desire to pull down the privileged castes, but an aspiration to equal their spiritual attainments. The effect has, of course, been very slight. Buddhism in fact, like all later reforming movements, shared the narcissistic character of the parent society and therefore effected very limited changes. This is equally true of the bhakti movement. Vaishnavism, which spread bhakti all over India, is conspicuously lacking in aggressiveness.

The chakravartin and bureaucracy

The analysis of this book claims to account for many of the distinctive characteristics of the Hindu civilisation. It will therefore be interesting to see its bearing upon the problem of the differences among the principal civilisations. The question which has always attracted most attention is why the modern civilisation originated in Europe, although an observer from the future visiting the fifteenth century would have learnt that Europe had long been under military attack from Arabs, Turks, and Mongols, would have found it in many ways less civilised than China, India, or the Islamic world, and would have discovered nothing that clearly foreshadowed the great changes that were to come.

The most recent attempt to answer this question is that of K. A. Wittfogel in his *Asiatic Despotism*. He is an eminent sinologue but, unfortunately, is not so well informed about India. His thesis is that the European civilisation owes its

special character to the fact that Europe is the only area of continental dimensions in the Old World where agriculture does not need irrigation works. By contrast, China had to practise big irrigation from early times, and the effect of this was to vest power in a bureaucracy, which unified the country technically and politically, and produced a great early flowering of culture, but proved highly unfavourable to liberty and to change. In Europe efforts at political unification have been made, but in the absence of such a technical need and bureaucratic tradition these efforts at unification have never succeeded for long. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Europe entered upon a millennium during which the predominant political form was feudalism. This system has not previously been distinguished with sufficient clarity from the bureaucratic type of imperialism such as that of China. Under feudalism the state power is decentralised and weak, but the position of landed property, and therefore ultimately of property rights in general, is strong. The weakness of the state and the strength of property rights are favourable to liberty, and without them it is unlikely that capitalism could have developed so strongly as to become the predominant economic form. It is the rise of capitalism to supremacy which has led to democracy, science, industrialism, and the modern civilisation. Under bureaucratic despotism, on the other hand, the right of property never establishes itself strongly, the private accumulation of wealth is always kept within narrow limits, and thought is also restricted. Accordingly, capitalism can never develop. Thus Wittfogel's view is that the decisive divergence between the Chinese and the European civilisations is that the one developed bureaucratic imperialism and the other feudalism.

Wittfogel argues that India resembles China in the early predominance of a bureaucratic tradition deriving from big irrigation works. The bureaucratic tradition is unquestionable, but that it arose from the need to manage big irrigation works is doubtful. There is little archaeological evidence of early irrigation, except in Baluchistan. Irrigation is referred to more than once in Kautalya's *Arthashastra*, but that work does not discuss it, and the elaborate state structure which it recommends does not include an irrigation department. If this

immense apparatus of offices and agents originally sprang from the need to operate irrigation, it is scarcely likely that the *Arthashastra*, which is itself fairly early, and draws upon earlier authorities, should ignore the subject.

Bureaucracy of some sort is a normal requirement when the state grows beyond a quite limited size. But such an elaborate and minute regulation of all sides of life as the *Arthashastra* recommends is surprising, and it remains abnormal and demands explanation even if that book is merely a theorist's utopia.

Writing of Kautalya's work, Beni Prasad says: "The State was conceived as an organic whole, its different parts being called limbs, evidently on the analogy of the human body. . . . Hindu civilisation is distinguished by its inwardness, its constant stress on the inner consciousness, the imperative need of integrating it with the totality of the universe, and with the spiritual principle embodied in it. Dharma upheld an ideal that elevated the soul to the loftiest heights. Dharma is equated with the totality of social relationships. Identification with society was an aspect of, or a step in, the identification with the universe. Society assisted the development of the psyche and ought to be an instrument of elevating the human soul. The spiritual approach served to impart breadth and integration to all social speculation. There was never an *a priori* limit set to the activity of the State. Hindu government had to adopt a positive attitude to all the main concerns of life. . . . The State. . . is totalitarian in the sense that it embraces the whole of life."¹ This eminent authority thus points out a connection between the introversion and high ego-ideal of Hinduism, and its urge towards a comprehensive political organisation, the urge expressed in the all-embracing bureaucracy of the *Arthashastra*, and on the military side in the Chakravartin tradition. The unconscious convictions of the narcissist inspire the characteristic fantasy of the bureaucrat. He feels himself to be universally benevolent, endowed with omniscience and omnicompetence, sitting at the controls of society, wiping the tears from every eye, and steering the state to utopia. The reader of the *Arthashastra* is reminded

¹ Majumdar (Ed.), *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 307-8.

of the impulse to manipulate plastic material, and of the delight in order and accuracy, as in elaborate rituals, which Berkeley-Hill wrote about. Bureaucracy expresses the non-aggressive superiority feeling of the narcissist, and the desire to exercise unostentatious power mentioned by Jones.

The urge to expand the state power and to establish this bureaucratic order was persistent in Hindu history, but it had to contend with the parochialism which is also characteristic of narcissism, and on the whole local influences prevailed. The inclination towards the bureaucratic life was in evidence under Muslim and British rule, and has shown itself still more clearly since India became independent.

Wittfogel's view of the origin of the Hindu bureaucratic tradition is thus mistaken, but his broad contrast between the property-conscious and potentially libertarian feudalism of Europe and the bureaucratic and conservative systems of China and India has some validity. He overlooks some other facts, though the omission does not affect his argument. He takes no account of what can be called quasi-feudalism, which prevailed over large areas and for long periods. The more central and settled parts of empires were administered by officials, who were normally not allowed to remain in one area long enough to establish themselves and their families as local magnates. But in peripheral areas local potentates were appointed as officials, and in areas beyond central control, such potentates established independent kingdoms which, as a matter of policy, might owe nominal allegiance to the empire. This system was very like feudalism, but differed from it in the important respect that these local potentates were normally tribal chiefs. In Europe the Roman law destroyed tribalism; in India the caste system has preserved it. Indian quasi-feudalism therefore differed considerably from the feudalism of Europe. The European system, which stressed legal relations, probably provided a firmer basis for property than the Indian system, which depended on custom more than on law; and by preserving the tribal atmosphere the Indian system kept in being something like the ancient unanimous society, when under the European system thought was becoming freer. The difference became clear at the period of the European Renaissance.

An Indian Renaissance?

M. N. Roy was deeply impressed by the intellectual emancipation achieved at the Renaissance, and argued that a similar change is necessary in India. Intellectual and religious authority must be repudiated, he said, men must dare to think freely, and then the creative potentialities of the Indian people will be released.

This suggestion was made on the assumption that the relative cultural sterility of India in recent generations has been due to the same causes as those which prevented cultural expression in mediaeval Europe. The account of the Hindu mind given in this book, however, makes the parallel appear doubtful.

According to Taylor, the cultural sterility of the European Middle Ages was due to what he calls a patrist (father-centred) personality structure among the lay and clerical ruling class, growing excessively severe because of its struggle to impose a puritanical sex code upon a public who were inclined towards matrism, the mother-centred type of personality, with its indulgent sex morals. The Renaissance, from this point of view, was a widespread relaxation of the severity of the father-centred psyche and a shift towards the mother-centred type, which led to a relaxation of both internal and external or social pressure on the individual. The intensity of belief in religious dogmas thus declined, the curb on free thought was removed, and intellectual and artistic ability was able to flourish.² Whether the general public, at least in northern Europe, were of the mother-centred psychic type may be doubted, but that their sex morals were extremely loose is clear, and the rest of Taylor's assertions seem probable enough.

According to the thesis of this book, however, the relative cultural sterility of India in recent generations results from quite different causes. There is at the present day little effective pressure against free thought or new forms of cultural expression, though there is still considerable pressure against some kinds of unorthodox social behaviour. It is said, indeed, that this has always been so, though that is probably true only of the definitely intellectual castes, and only of a narrow area

² Taylor, *Sex in History*, ch. VII.

of cultural expression. Nor are creative impulses held in check by internal repressive mechanisms. No strong mechanisms of the kind appear to be in operation. The cultural sterility of India in recent centuries is due to the weakness of the revolt against the father, i.e. against the ideas of the past, and to the weakness of the creative impulse.

A familiar figure in Indian academic life is the brilliant student who shows his capacity by a good piece of research or creative work while still a young man, but once he has made his name and position does nothing more. There is no obstacle, internal or external, preventing him from doing more first-class work. He lacks the impulse to do it. At the level with which psycho-analysis is concerned, this weakness is due to the absorption of libido in narcissistic self-contemplation, and also to the weakness of aggressiveness, both inward and outward directed. Cultural activity may be the work of almost pure libido. This is probably the case with projective extroverts such as Tagore and, one may guess, Kalidasa. But much cultural activity contains an appreciable aggressive element. This is especially true in science, even pure science: the desire to understand seems to derive in part from the desire to dominate.

If this diagnosis is right, then, the European Renaissance cannot be repeated in India.

The psychology of capitalism

Engels pointed out a connection between the Protestant Reformation and the rise of modern capitalism; he considered capitalism the cause and the Reformation the effect. Weber thought the causal connection was the other way round; in any event, the connection cannot be doubted. The personality typical of Protestant Christianity is markedly punitive. Much libido and much aggressiveness are directed outward, so that the subject devotes himself to energetic activity in the world; while he is conscious of sin and is thus unwilling to live luxuriously and tends to be thrifty. This mentality was conducive to the development of early industrialism. The aggressive character of the capitalists, though it was matched by that of the pre-capitalist rulers, urged them on to demand rights and to press for a share in political power. The aggressive character

of the workers showed itself in persistent demands for rights and an increased share of wealth. The outward direction of interest, and the impulse to dominate, conduced to the development of science and technology.

In Hindu India it was the traditional duty of the Vaishya varna to accumulate wealth, and the sanctity of Vaishyas' and other upper caste property seems to have been generally recognised. In the pre-Muslim period internal and overseas commerce flourished. The earlier Muslim period was chaotic, but under the Mughals again commerce was prosperous. Wittfogel's picture of the bureaucratic apparatus stifling capitalism is not true of India, at least when orderly conditions existed. But, in contrast to those of Europe, the Indian merchants accepted their inferior status and never attempted to acquire political power, except the veiled and precarious power which influence at court might give. Nor did they establish independent commercial cities like those in mediaeval Europe. Under a bureaucratic, as contrasted with a feudal order, such a thing was impossible even if they had desired it. In India neither the merchants nor the intellectuals conducted scientific work comparable to that which developed in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and led to the technological advances of the eighteenth century.

These differences of behaviour in similarly placed groups of merchants and intellectuals can be attributed in part to the difference of personality type. The Indian merchants were less aggressive and more conservative than the European, and accepted their traditional status with less protest. Here, of course, the caste tradition, which allowed them no share in political power, played a big part. The Indian intellectuals had long ceased to concern themselves with external phenomena, and accordingly the scientific investigation they had undertaken in an earlier era came to an end and was never resumed.

Cultural flowering

If this view of the Hindu character is accepted, it may appear difficult to account for the occurrence of a vigorous culture. The solution to this problem is to be found in projective extroversion, which among the cultural and spiritual *élite* reversed the normal inward-looking trend. The markedly

Olympian quality of Hindu literary work at all periods suggests that the best, at any rate, was composed by projective extroverts. The same conclusion follows even more clearly from the character of the religious poetry and of the philosophical writing. The outward expansion of interest promoted by projective extroversion must have influenced men who were not of that type to devote themselves to science, in which India achieved important work in the early period. It is possible that the same cause was responsible, in the first millennium A.D., for the overseas expansion of the Indian culture, first in its Buddhist and later in its Hindu form. If this inference is valid, then, it can be said that a necessary condition for the flowering of Hindu culture is the occurrence of a large number of projective extroverts. The most important factors favouring projective extroversion are the tradition of ascetic self-discipline and the teaching of indifference or detachment from the world, though in addition it is normally necessary that there should be some special teaching, of which we have distinguished three types, the Buddhist doctrine of anatta, the Gita doctrine of nishkama karma, and bhakti.

It is a fair assumption that at most periods between 500 B.C. and A.D. 1000 and in most places, these conditions existed. Probably, favourable conditions prevailed during the periods when the bhakti movement became powerful. M. G. Ranade's account of the Saints and Prophets of Maharashtra,³ and R. D. Ranade's book on several of the same men⁴ suggest that these conditions were found in Maharashtra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century there lived about fifty men and women who can be classed as saints. Their preaching and example were directed against caste and sex inequality and towards a reconciliation with the Muslims, and they stressed the doctrine of love rather than religious formalities. Many of them were gifted poets. Quite a number of them unquestionably had the unitive vision, i.e. they were projective extroverts.

Even during the nineteenth century these conditions had not disappeared, and from Ram Mohan Roy down to Gokhale and Gandhi, a large proportion of the eminent figures seem to come

³ M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, ch. VIII.

⁴ R. D. Ranade, *Pathway to God in Marathi Literature*.

from the same mould. If not themselves projective extroverts, they were high-level narcissists who accepted as the ego-ideal the model established by the projective extroverts of the past.

At the earlier periods — and the tradition was not extinct even in the nineteenth century — an influence which favoured projective extroversion was the practice of teaching by the guru-shishya system. The narcissistic personality is prone to attach itself to an idealised father, the guru, and guru worship is not necessarily incompatible with total introversion. The pupil internalises the guru figure and identifies with it. However, a different line of psychical development is possible. The guru figure is internalised as the ego-ideal, but total introversion is not achieved, and projective extroversion does not follow. In that case the influence of the guru may be very strong and may lead to the formation of a high-level conscience. Men of this type will have the same kind of outlook as the projective extrovert, but will, in general, be less strongly attached to their ideals: if conditions become unfavourable they will tend to give way to temptation.

The outlook of the projective extrovert is universalistic. It has no place for sectionalism or nationalism. This is apt to prove impracticably idealistic and to lead to ill consequences. It is a common opinion that the rapid decline of the Mauryan Empire after the death of Ashoka was due to the prevalence of impracticable idealism. That may be true, but it is more probable that it was due to the decline of the level of other men when the sustaining power of the father or guru figure disappeared. Ordinary men of the narcissistic type introject the figure of such a leader, and he raises them to a high level of public spirit, which they can no longer sustain when he has gone. Doubtless the collapse of the empire was also promoted by the characteristic parochialism of the majority of narcissists of the lower type.

The combination of the weaknesses of these three different types may have had similar results at other periods of history. The reactions of the latter two types to a similar event may be seen at the present time. The British power, though resented as foreign, was in some degree respected and in most matters obeyed. It played the part, to some extent, of the father or guru. For a substantial part of the public, more especially

those who were strongly hostile to the British régime, Mahatma Gandhi filled this role. The simultaneous removal of both gurus has had an effect reminiscent of what followed the death of Ashoka. It has led to a widespread decline in moral effort, and a revival of the parochialism characteristic of the lower-level narcissistic type.

Though the parallel between events separated by over 2,000 years is not exact, it is suggestive. The same can be said of the parallel between the events of the eighteenth century, following the collapse of the Mughal Empire, and some of the political events of our day. The Mughals claimed suzerainty over all India, and the claim was acknowledged in principle even where it could not be enforced. There was at least a notional link connecting the various states. With the decline of the Empire, actual power fell to its viceroys in Bengal and Hyderabad, the Maratha Confederacy over most of West, Central, and Northern India, the strong Muslim power of Mysore, and a scattering of minor kingdoms. It was soon clear that the British also were claimants to supremacy. The general public had little political consciousness, but the rulers were aware of the possibility of foreign domination, and it must be supposed that they disliked it. The two successive Muslim rulers of Mysore pressed strongly for united action against the British. There was a considerable period when a working alliance of the Marathas, Hyderabad, and Mysore could probably have put an end to British ambitions, but no such alliance was ever effected. The party most responsible for this failure was the great Hindu power at Poona, whose leaders would never commit themselves, and allowed their potential allies to be won over or crushed separately. They then faced the British alone, and were defeated. The Olympian impartiality of the narcissistic psyche, and its tortoise-like self-isolation, seem to show themselves in this indecisiveness and unwillingness to enter an alliance.

Recent history provides a striking instance of the same trend. In October, 1939, the Hindu-dominated Governments of eight of the eleven Provinces of British India resigned in protest against the Viceroy's declaration of war on Germany. The Congress, which ordered these resignations, sympathised with the war but demanded some clarification of its declared pur-

poses. A similar event was repeated in March 1942, when the Congress committee rejected the "Cripps offer" and its members went back to jail. On both occasions, protests were understandable, but leaders of other personality types would have attached greater weight to the consideration that, during a world war, developments of the greatest importance were to be expected, and that it was therefore in the national interest that they should cling to their strategical positions and exploit the considerable influence upon events which these eight elected provincial governments could be expected to give them. The non-alignment policy of the present period evidently springs from the same impulses, and has much in common with the attitude of the Maratha leaders of the eighteenth century.

The psychical changes which take place in response to political, economic, technological, and intellectual change are, from the psycho-analytic standpoint, superficial, but they can be very great. Such changes are proceeding at an unprecedented pace in our time. Nevertheless, the basic personality structure is not entirely buried.

Appendix I

MAHATMA GANDHI

A NATURAL first impression is that Mahatma Gandhi was of the punitive type, one in whom guilt feeling is strong. This view depends on the following facts. In childhood he was extremely timid and shy, characteristics which are uncommon in Hindu children and do not suggest narcissism. The events on the night of his father's death suggest an unconscious death-wish. His highly puritanical attitude, especially to sex, struck many Indians as Christian rather than Hindu, and therefore punitive. In his first book, *Indian Home Rule* (1908), he advocated the total abolition of railways, hospitals, and all products of industrialism, on the ground that they encourage self-indulgence and are therefore bad for health and morals. He opposed medical treatment of the venereal diseases, in particular, because they are a just punishment for sin. These views are typical of the reaction to industrialism in Europe, but they have seldom found any echo in India. They suggest the strong guilt feeling of the punitive.

However, I now think that this view is mistaken, and that Gandhi is to be considered of the narcissistic type, but following the Jain rather than the Vaishnava model.

The compulsion to punish oneself and to repress one's impulses is not necessarily punitive. It may derive from the wish to identify with the mother, or from the narcissistic semen complex, and it may consist in the withdrawal of all external attachments in order to concentrate on the development of the ego, as in Jainism and yoga.

Gandhi's early shyness and timidity may have been the outcome of the normal indulgent treatment in early infancy, followed by an unusually rigorous home discipline. His father was nearly fifty years older than he, and was "truthful, brave,

independent and quick-tempered." The boy was afraid of him, but there is no specific evidence of active hostility to his father. He says repeatedly that he was devoted to his parents. He had a keen desire to nurse his sick father. He was fascinated at an early age by the story of Shravana, which he says inculcates devotion to the parents. For his teachers he had great respect, which was undisturbed even when one of them tried to make him cheat a school inspector. "I learnt to carry out the orders of elders, not to scan their actions." This is the passive attitude of the narcissist.

Ego-centred characteristics appear very early. He forgot what he did not like in what he was taught, and carried out what appealed to him. He says that his passion for truth was "innate." He jealously guarded his character: any rebuke was unbearable. He wept when unjustly accused of minor faults. He was a solitary child. At school he formed two friendships which "might be called intimate," but one was broken off owing to his friend's jealousy, and the other he himself regretted. "I formed it in the spirit of a reformer... a reformer cannot afford to have close intimacy with him whom he seeks to reform... I am of opinion that all exclusive intimacies are to be avoided; for man takes in vice far more readily than virtue. And he who would be friends with God must remain alone, or make the whole world his friend." The fear of contamination with vice, and the idea of remaining alone in order to love God or the world, are clearly narcissistic. In later years he admired and learnt from a few other people, but he never adopted a religious guru. This is the attitude of the Jain, who does not permit himself to love even the Tirthankara.

He wrote in *Indian Home Rule*: "It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is therefore in the palm of our hands... such Swaraj has to be experienced by each man for himself." Thus, Swaraj is felt to be a subjective condition. He always had the feeling that if people's attitude was right, everything else would follow. Hence also the principle that the means determine the end. All this is clearly narcissistic.

He was early attracted towards the eminently narcissistic subjects of health and diet. His first reforming enthusiasm was for vegetarianism, and he continued throughout his life to

pay much attention to these matters. He often and strongly urged the conservation of the semen.

The turning-points in his career were insults—from the Political Agent in Kathiawar, which “changed the course of my life,” and from the white train and bus conductors and the like in South Africa. When turned out of the train at Maritzburg he spent a cold night in the waiting room considering his future course. “It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation.” Though he sympathised with the Boers in the Boer War, he organised an ambulance corps for service with the British Army, thus showing his submission, in the narcissistic style, to established authority, the father. The motive for organising this ambulance corps was to prove that Indians were not cowards.

Throughout his early manhood he felt the urge to simplify his life, i.e. to withdraw attachment to the world, and the urge to perform public service. In his account there is little indication of the guilt feeling which would explain such trends in a punitive. The Jain view is that bad karma is destroyed, not by repentance, but by good deeds and suffering. Gandhi seldom emphasised repentance.

Despite the events on the night of his father's death, he shows little sign of guilt even when discussing brahmacharya. A typical statement is the following: “So overpowering are the senses that they can be kept under control only when they are completely hedged in on all sides...Fasting is useful... when it cultivates distaste for the objects that are denied to the body... So long as thought is not under complete control of the will, brahmacharya is absent.” This is the ego-centred type of asceticism. Brahmacharya, as practised and advocated by Gandhi, gives no indication of being prompted by the desire either to propitiate the father or to identify with the mother; it is the desire to safeguard the integrity of the self.

As many teachers of Vedanta point out, a moral pitfall in the way of the narcissist is pride. Gandhi was very much aware of this danger. He often declared that he fasted in order to curb his pride. “I have had my subtlest assaults of pride... We must reduce ourselves to a cipher.”

He had been introduced at an early age to the techniques

necessary for this kind of asceticism. His mother, though a Vaishnava, was familiar with the Jain practices. A servant, Rambha, taught him to control his childish fears by repeating the name of Rama. In his first days in London, at the age of eighteen, when he was lonely and half-starved, and friends urged him to break his promise to his mother not to eat meat, "daily I would pray for God's protection and would get it. Not that I had any idea of God. It was faith that was at work—faith of which the seed had been sown by the good nurse Rambha." Since he had no belief at that time, it can hardly have been faith in the ordinary sense that saved him. It was the narcissist's unconscious drive for self-perfection, supplemented by the yogic technique of self-control by means of repetition. He later made much use of the Jain technique of the vow.

It is argued in the chapter on Tapasya that satyagraha conforms to the behaviour pattern of passive homosexuality. Most of those who offered satyagraha cherished hostile feelings towards the authorities, but Gandhi was strongly opposed to that attitude, tried to purge it of such feeling, and made satyagraha a training, in what may in a general way be called the Jain style, in strength and self-reliance.

The importance Gandhi attached to truth should be noticed. It appears very early in his development. He says it was innate. He mentions being fascinated by the story of Harishchandra, who behaved in a somewhat egoistical way to his wife and son, but kept the letter of an extravagant promise with superhuman fortitude. Gandhi relates several incidents which show the difficulty he experienced in telling lies. Recalling reflections on the subject from the age of fifteen or sixteen, he says, "One thing took deep root in me—the conviction that morality is the basis of all things, and that truth is the substance of all morality. Truth became my sole objective. It began to grow in magnitude every day, and my definition of it also has been ever widening." At this time he had no belief in God. I once asked him how truth can be regarded as an independent ethical principle, since—apart from the matter of telling the truth—it does not tell you what is right: it merely says that you must do what you believe to be right. He replied, "It means that you must do what *you* believe, not what other

people believe, to be right." Truth for him meant self-dependence, self-expression, self-realisation. It stood for the drive of the Jain type or yogi type of personality to develop his potentialities by systematic, inward-directed effort.

He derived the hostility to industrialism expressed in *Indian Home Rule* from the religious, nonconformist, vegetarian circles in which he moved in the West. When he wrote that book he had lived in England and South Africa, but for a short break, for twenty years. He mentions Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau, Carlyle, as authors whom he read at that time. His choice of such company and such reading suggests a personality of similar if not identical type, but the Jain-style drive to develop strength and asceticism and to isolate the self may account for this taste.

There was much surprise when, in his last few years, Gandhi began experiments in sexual self-control of a daring character reminiscent of the Shakta practices. This episode is good evidence against the view that his personality structure was of the punitive type. The strong in-turned aggressiveness of the punitive associates all overt sex activity with guilt feeling. A conscientious punitive could hardly have acted as he did at that time. Even the Jain teaching on sex is of a puritanical nature and does not allow for practices such as these. Gandhi's parents, however, were Vaishnavas, and he always professed to be a Vaishnava.

Although his sadhana generally followed the Jain model, Gandhi departed from it in that he developed a very marked interest in the people about him, while at the same time he grew in vairagya, detachment from worldly considerations in the ordinary sense. Was this projective extroversion? He has given no account of any experience comparable to those described by Tagore and Swami Ramdas and quoted in the chapter on that subject, and the order of events in his life appears not to fit in with the model. In projective extroversion, interest in the external world diminishes to vanishing point, so that there takes place a complete libidinal cathexis on the ego; the ego then becomes identified with the world, in which the subject therefore becomes interested once more, but in a different, cooler, and more impartial way. Both Tagore and Ramdas experienced a sudden transition. Gandhi underwent a rapid

psychological change during his first year in South Africa, but it does not appear that his interest in the external world ever ceased, though this may have happened earlier, for example when on his return from London to India at the age of twenty-one he was informed of his mother's death. On the other hand, his interest in the incidentals of a worldly life continued for some years in South Africa, and then began gradually to diminish, until ten or more years later, when at the age of thirty-five or forty, he achieved a fairly high degree of vairagya.

"He who would be friends with God must remain alone, or make the whole world his friend." This sounds like the outward projection of totally in-turned libido. Though he never claimed to be a perfect satyagrahi, his oft-repeated statement that one perfect satyagrahi can achieve anything whatever suggests the unlimited expansion of the ego consequent on total internal libidinal cathexis. His principle of non-violence has some similarity to the cool, impartial character of the projective extrovert's love of the universe. It was his principle to love his enemies as dearly as his friends, and, in fact, to have no enemies and no intimate friends. His behaviour towards his family and his close associates was often criticised as impersonal and cold. When people in his entourage misbehaved, when violence arose from the political movements he led, and sometimes when violence arose from communal conflicts which had no close connection with his activities, he would punish himself, often by fasting. Projective extroversion involves an identification of the self with the universe. Once he explained why he felt it necessary to fast when some followers of the Congress movement had committed acts of violence. "I must undergo personal cleansing," he wrote. "I must become a fitter instrument able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers must have much deeper humility and truth about them than they evidence." This is suggestive of the all-embracing character of the projective extrovert's feeling for the world.

It is possible, then, that he experienced projective extroversion on a few occasions as a young man, though like Tagore he was not a sthitaprajna, one who has attained a permanent condition of projective extroversion. It is also possible that

he never had that experience. If so, he was clearly of the type which achieves an exceptionally strong cathexis on the ego-ideal. If the ego-ideal is of the kind set up by the projective extroverts of the past, as his was, the difference may be hard to discern.

Appendix II

PARALLELS

THERE HAVE been a number of well-known persons in the West whom one recognises as conforming to the narcissistic type. It is an interesting confirmation of the thesis of this book that some of them have expressed philosophical and other opinions which approximate to Hindu doctrines. The more significant facts about some of them are given here.

Montaigne

Under instructions from his father, Montaigne's tutor was to subject him to no discipline or punishment and to let him study what he wished. He married but did not love his wife, and he was equally indifferent to the only daughter who lived. In his fifties he had a platonic affair with a woman thirty years his junior. Between twenty-five and thirty he experienced the one attraction of his life, for a man of his own age and similar intellectual tastes. Many years later he wrote: "If I am pressed to say why I loved him, I feel that can only be expressed by replying: because it was he, because it was I." This admittedly enigmatic statement may mean that he recognised himself in his friend. The true narcissist only loves another in whom he sees himself.

For some years Montaigne followed an active career, but when at thirty-eight he inherited his father's property, he retired to the estate and shut himself up in a womb-like room at the top of a spiral staircase on the third floor of a tower. There he spent the next eight years, reading, meditating, and writing. After that he emerged for two years to act as Mayor of Bordeaux, but he spent most of his remaining days in the tower. He told the councillors: "We must lend ourselves to others but give ourselves only to ourselves."

He had some of the intellectual virtues of the narcissistic

type. His devotion to truth was conspicuous. He was a great advocate of balance, of moderation. "I deem it an equal injustice either to take natural sensualities against the heart or to take them too near the heart." He was free from the punitive's sense of sin. He showed the narcissist's acceptance of life: "We do foolishly fear a kind of death, when as we have already passed and daily pass so many others." "I cheerfully and thankfully and with a good heart accept what nature hath created for me... Great wrong is offered unto that great and all-puissant Giver to refuse his gift... All things that are according to nature are worthy to be esteemed."

He had some intimations of the more exalted philosophy of the narcissist. He discoursed upon the limitations of sense-knowledge, the inability of the reason to control the emotions, and the evanescence of all the experiences of life. "Wherefore we must conclude that only God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immovable and immutable eternity; not measured by time nor subject to any declination; before whom nothing is nor nothing shall be after, nor more new nor more recent; but one really being, which by one only Now or Present filleth the Ever; and there is nothing that truly is but he alone..."

The Christians of his time and since have disliked Montaigne; T. S. Eliot shows it in his essay on Pascal. Probably they have done so for the same reason as they disliked Spinoza. Neither was an atheist, but their God was immanent, not transcendent, the narcissist's, not the punitive's.

Spinoza

His father was rich and was kind to him and had him educated by tutors at home. But his mother died when he was six, and he blamed his father for her death. When he left home at twenty-two he chose a residence from which he could see the cemetery where she was buried. He seems to have forgiven his father in later years. He had several brothers and sisters, who died one after another during his youth. His father died when he was twenty. In his teens he fell in love with a girl, but she preferred another man. These successive deprivations may have turned his love back upon himself. He was familiar with Jewish, Catholic, and Calvinist intolerance.

He rejected the offered patronage of the great, except that of the liberal rulers of Holland. He became quiet, cautious, and secretive. He gave up his father's wealth and his father's beliefs, suffered excommunication, and lived alone, like Montaigne, in a small room with his books, earning a frugal living by polishing lenses.

He summed up his own intellectual history thus: "After experience had taught me that all things which frequently take place in ordinary life are vain and futile... I determined at last to inquire... whether I might discover and acquire the faculty of enjoying throughout eternity continual supreme happiness." He then found that this pursuit was incompatible with the pursuit of riches, fame and pleasure, so he abandoned them. Among the subjects which must be studied by those who desire a good life he mentions medicine. This care for the body is typically narcissistic.

Some characteristic philosophical statements are these: "God loves himself with an infinite intellectual love." "No virtue can be conceived as prior to this virtue of endeavouring to preserve oneself." "No one endeavours to preserve his being for the sake of anything else." "He who understands himself and his emotions loves God, and the more so, the more he understands himself and his emotions." "The more we understand individual things, the more we understand God." "Whatever is, is in God, and nothing can exist or be conceived without God."

"Spinoza," says Russell, "is the noblest and most lovable of the great philosophers. Intellectually, some others have surpassed him, but ethically he is supreme. As a natural consequence, he was considered, during his lifetime and for a century after his death, a man of appalling wickedness." There is a certain similarity to the reaction of occidental philosophers to the Vedanta: they admire it as an intellectual achievement, but deprecate its ethics.

Goethe

It is perhaps unduly daring to make a summary assessment of Goethe's complex personality. However, there are some striking parallels between his ideas and those which are typical of Hindus.

When he was born his father was forty, but his mother was eighteen. His father was strict, and in later life there was much disagreement between him and his son. Goethe's mother was imaginative and vivacious, and her son remained strongly attached to her while she lived. He was also much attached to his sister, one year younger than himself. He was taught at home, and his childhood was happy.

He had innumerable love affairs, deeply felt but soon over. He broke off engagements, ran away from entanglements, and so forth. His most important and prolonged love affair was with a married woman several years older than himself, who had children. There may have been an element of mother fixation in this, though it was a genuine love affair. However, he ran away even from her. It is said of him that when love and poetry conflicted, poetry always won. Nearly all these affairs stimulated him to write; it may be supposed that through writing poetry he re-established detachment from the love-object and restored the normal narcissistic cathexis. Similarly, he tried to get rid of the thought of suicide by giving it literary form.

He showed the narcissist's liking for disguises and anonymity. His celebrated journey through Italy was made incognito. He showed the narcissist's strong repugnance at the sight of physical ills. He was interested in the occult and in alchemy, and expressed a belief in metempsychosis. He was strongly attracted by the idea of renunciation; it is the principal theme of his novel, *Elective Affinities*. He strove constantly for harmony and balance in himself, and saw these qualities in nature. He was free from nationalistic feeling, and was so conspicuously detached from normal parochial concerns that he was called "Olympian."

He was always clear that he was not a Christian, and he called himself a "pagan," but never admitted that he was an atheist. He may have had mystical experiences. He once described his feeling about God in the off-hand, matter-of-fact way—he was "on quite good terms with God," and God "might even be in arrears" with him—which recalls the expression of some Hindu mystics that God is their debtor. At the age of nineteen, he said that his self-respect stood in the way of religion. He showed the narcissist's lofty aspiration:

he said that his desire "to build the pyramid of my existence as high in the air as possible" exceeded all else; and he regarded the power which draws man upward as feminine, a parallel perhaps with the doctrine of God's Shakti.

He admired Spinoza and shared his pantheism. He saw "God in nature, nature in God." He recognised "one inward essence which appears, to its own phenomena, to men, only in the world, while in its true nature it is exalted above any conception of one of its creatures." He was acquainted with some of the Sufi writers and admired their ideas. He said that the soul is the mirror of God, and spoke of the primal unity into which creatures yearn to be reabsorbed.

Blake

Blake's father realised early that the boy had strange gifts, and thereafter treated him indulgently. He grew up without formal education, except in drawing and engraving. He gloried, in a way which W. P. Witcutt calls narcissistic, in his own body, and in those of his boyhood companions. He showed an intense attachment to his younger brother. It is doubtful if he was ever deeply in love with a woman. He fell in love with a girl, but she refused his offer of marriage, and shortly afterwards he married another girl. His wife was devoted to him throughout their life, but his attitude was that of the friend rather than the lover. He once proposed to bring another woman into the household, but when his wife wept he dropped the idea.

Though his life was blameless his expressed opinions on morals were antinomian. He despised Plato's concern with good and evil and declared that to God everything is good. "In hell all is self-righteousness," he said. He did not consider sex-pleasure unholy.

He claimed to remember previous incarnations. He appears to have enjoyed the unitive vision. He saw a world in a grain of sand, and eternity in an hour. He once said of Christ, "He is the only God, and so am I, and so are you."

Wordsworth

Wordsworth was taught at home until fairly late. He remembered his mother, who died when he was eight, as

"serene and devoted." She, however, described him as "stiff, moody and violent." He once struck a whip through a family portrait "to prove his audacity." In a fit of resentment at being punished, he once thought of committing suicide. He was idle and learnt little at his first schools, but improved after the age of twelve when he was sent to a school conducted on liberal principles. At the university he neglected his studies "to spite his guardians." Though poor and under pressure from his relatives, he never tried to earn a living. His friends described him as extremely egotistical. At twenty-one he had an affair with a French girl, but he soon left her. At thirty-two he married a woman he had known all his life. From his early years he had his sister as his constant companion.

Witcutt, in his Jungian study of Blake, remarks that Wordsworth is "the poet of introverted sensation." His introversion is obvious, as also is his interest in himself. A large part of his work is autobiography. He had quasi-mystical experiences from his early years. His doctrine of the affinity between the mind and nature is expressed in most of his better poems. He is rightly called a pantheist. He seems to have believed in pre-existence.

Shelley

Mr. Alex Comfort refers to Shelley's revolt against father, king, and God as a typical expression of the positive Oedipus complex. On the other hand, Ernest Jones classes him as a narcissist, as do Graham Hough and W. P. Witcutt, the literary critics. The two opinions are hardly reconcilable. Shelley is of special interest for this study because of this contradiction, and because he is very popular in India, and his popularity is partly due to his rebelliousness. The poet Bharati admired him for his radicalism.

In *The Young Shelley*, Mr. K. N. Cameron has examined the evidence in the light of psychology, and his account is in general agreement with the view of the narcissistic personality type taken in this book.

The evidence is all against an early conflict with his father. He was "unduly indulged" and "spoilt." His father, a good-natured man, was proud of him. As a child he has "exceed-

ingly fond" of his father and showed uncommon solicitude when his father was ill. In later years the attachment remained, though a tinge of condescension began to appear when he realised his father's intellectual limitations. But he grew up without a male ideal, and was strongly attached to his mother.

His eccentricities at school appear to have been "put on," in the manner of the spoilt child, to attract attention. His rebelliousness was first shown at the age of ten, when he was sent to a school where for the first time he was punished and bullied. The indignity of flogging so affected him that he rolled on the floor. He began to retaliate with extreme violence when thwarted, and this habit remained throughout his life. It is characteristic of the narcissist that aggression is provoked, not in-built.

At eighteen he wished to marry his cousin, and he later formed a strong attachment to his sister, who resembled him closely. He wrote a volume of poems in collaboration with her. He was fascinated by the idea of incest, which is the subject of *The Cenci*. He idealised the brother-sister relation in *The Revolt of Islam*. In *Alastor*, he celebrated and mourned his own solitude. At eighteen he became a vegetarian, and later wrote two pamphlets on the subject. His early writings show an interest in the mysterious and the occult. As a schoolboy he became acquainted, through Pliny, with pantheism, and thereafter always professed it; it finds frequent expression in his poems. All these traits are characteristic of the narcissistic type. The high political ideals to which he devoted the last ten years of his life are typical of the high ego-ideal of the narcissist.

Whitman

Whitman's father was a silent man, resigned to poverty: it is a reasonable guess that he neglected his nine children. Walt was devoted to his mother in a most unusual degree. She died when he was fifty-four; in consequence, he became partially paralysed and remained so for some months, and it is said that he never fully recovered from her death, though he lived to seventy-three. He was affectionate to his family, though they were all below average in intelligence and did not

appreciate him. He never married and had no love affair. He expressed homosexual and of course heterosexual sentiments in his writings, but neither took any practical form.

He was a self-advertiser and gloried in adulation. In his 30's he suddenly changed his get-up from that of a well-groomed middle-class man to that of a bearded proletarian. He supported the North in the Civil War, but did not join the army. (He was forty-two when the war began.) In the same year, he reformed his diet. "I have this day, this hour resolved to inaugurate for myself a pure, perfect, sweet, clean-blooded, robust body, by ignoring all drinks but water and pure milk, and all fat meats, late suppers—a great body, a purged, cleansed, spiritualised, invigorated body."

When he knew he was about to die, he ordered a big plot in a cemetery, and a large tomb based on a drawing by Blake, costing 2,500 dollars. For many years he lived partly on charity, yet at his death he left 6,000 dollars in cash, a substantial sum at that time, in addition to his copyrights.

His parents came from Quaker families. In later years he recalled hearing a celebrated Quaker of the day preach on the "inner light," a doctrine which, he says, affected him greatly. The inner light as professed by Protestant sects is usually taken to refer to the conscience. A person of the narcissistic type, however, might well overlook the element of guilt and stress the appeal to the ego-ideal, and thus take an exposition of the doctrine as conforming to his bent. For many years Whitman carried a copy of the *Gita* about with him.

Louis Untermeyer, the literary critic, speaks of Whitman's "basic narcissism." "Whitman's auto-erotic tendencies," he proceeds, "made him assume an almost hermaphroditic attitude. His love poems often show him in the dubious dual role of both man and woman."

Below are lines from his poems showing his narcissism, and his tendency to identify himself with the cosmos, and to adopt the narcissistic position beyond good and evil.

... go bathe and admire myself.

Welcome is every organ and attribute of me, and of any man

hearty and clean,

Not an inch nor a particle of an inch is vile, and none shall be
less familiar than the rest.

I find no sweeter fat than sticks to my own bones.

In all people I see myself, none more and not one a barleycorn less.

One world is aware and by far the largest to me, and that is myself.

I am not the poet of goodness only, I do not decline to be the
poet of wickedness also.

Evil propels me and reform of evil propels me, I stand indifferent,

I find one side a balance and the antipodal side a balance,

Walt Whitman, a Kosmos. . .

I have said that the soul is not more than the body,

And I have said that the body is not more than the soul,

And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is.

I hear and behold God in every object, yet understand God not in
the least,

Nor do I understand who there can be more wonderful than myself.

There is that in me—I do not know what it is—but I know it
is in me. . .

Do you see, O my brothers and sisters?

It is not chaos or death—it is form, union, plan—it is eternal life—
it is Happiness.

I, turning, call to thee O soul, thou actual Me,

And lo, thou gently masterest the orbs,

Thou matest Time, smilest content at Death,

And fillest, swellest full, the vastness of Space.

Nietzsche

Nietzsche's father died when he was 5 years old, and he was brought up by his mother and a number of female relatives. His lifelong companion was his sister, who he declared understood him better than anybody else because of their common parentage. His confession that they had physical relations has been published recently. He never married.

Though he has affected German nationalist thought he was not a nationalist, and though he believed in superior and inferior biological stocks he was not a racialist nor an anti-semiter. He had a penetrating intellect, but, according to Bertrand Russell, much of his writing is a thinly disguised expression of his self-importance and desire for domination. Ananda Coomaraswamy declares that Nietzsche was a mystic, and quotes statements which suggest that he attained the unitive vision of the projective extrovert. However, Nietzsche also expressed ideas of the type which hostile critics attribute to Brahmans, ideas, that is to say, which are characteristic

of narcissists of lower types. Amaury de Riencourt points out the similarity between Nietzsche's opinions and these trends in Hindu thought. He insisted on human inequality and the desirability of being well-born. He despised the majority of men, and all women, and held that their wishes should count for nothing as against those of the superior few. His programme for the future of humanity was to breed a higher species from the best stocks. He admired the heroic virtues, self-discipline, endurance, ruthlessness, and the will to power, and condemned humanitarianism, mercy, pity, and so forth. He wrote a book entitled *Beyond Good and Evil*.

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